HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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U.S. Airman Beheaded

Secrecy Surrounds North Viet Nam Atrocities

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson is imposing a tight curtain of secrecy on the beheading by North Vietnamese of an escaping U.S. airman.

Details of this Communist atrocity, the most recent of a number committed against U.S. prisoners of war, reached the White House from Saigon at the same time as Hanoi officials were disclaiming intentions of trying captured American pilots. After studying both reports the President directed that the Hanoi announcement, then being widely broadcast by a U.S. network, could be confirmed, but that no mention be made of the grisly report from Saigon.

The Defense Department was directed to release no details of the brutal murder to either the press or inquiring members of Congress.

The slaying of the unarmed airman was reported by Lt. Dieter Dengler, Navy pilot who had escaped with him from a prison camp in northern Laos, and who is now recovering in a West Coast hospital. During Dengler's debriefing in Saigon, he related an eyewitness account of how his fleeing comrade was caught and beheaded by North Vietnamese solders.

Dengler's stark report was so shocking that President Johnson and his inner advisers decided to suppress it for the time being because of concern that its publication in the midst of the tense furore over the fate of other captured U.S. pilots might provoke a storm of demands for harsh retaliatory measures against North Viet Nam. Fear was voiced that such public clamor might react adversely against U.S. pilots in Communist hands.

The vicious slaying has led to considerable discussion in inner congressional quarters on what can or should be done about bringing before the world the full story of the many atrocities committed by the Vietnamese Communists.

Foremost among these outraged legislators are Reps. L. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee; Thomas Morgan (D.-Pa.), head of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and Wayne Hays (D.-Ohio), a ranking member of that committee. They have asked the Defense Department for detailed reports on this atrocity and others known to have been perpetrated. They have been told by military sources that a number of captured U.S. and South Vietnamese have been tortured and shot by regular North Vietnamese troops.

The lawmakers are considering making a direct appeal to the President to send a warning through diplomatic channels to Ho Chi Minh that if these atrocities continue he and his lieutenants will be held personally responsible.

"If anyone should be tried as war criminals," Rep. Rivers declared at a meeting of the group, "it is Ho Chi Minh and those around him who initiated this barbarous aggression against South Viet Nam. Those men are responsible for hundreds of thousands of war deaths and tens of thousands of assassinations, including women and children. Their hands are dripping with the blood of innocent people."

For examination by the Armed Services Committee, Rivers has specifically asked the Pentagon for reports on the slaying of four wounded Marines after being captured by North Vietnamese in a recent encounter near the 17th parallel, and the execution of Sgt. Harold Bennett, who was captured last year.

The Foreign Affairs Committee, which is gathering information on atrocities committed against both U.S. and South Vietnamese personnel, is documenting the case of Joseph Grainger, 39-year-old Connecticut AID official who was murdered by Communist captors. The committee also is seeking information on what the Administration has done to obtain the release of a half dozen U.S. civilians, among them Gustav Hertz, highest ranking prisoner in Viet Cong hands.

An official of the Agency for International Development, Hertz was seized while endeavoring to secure the liberation of other civilian prisoners. Administration sources say Hertz had been given safe conduct assurances by the Communists but they broke their promise.

Reps. Morgan and Rivers are indicating they will publicly air details of the Communists' atrocities if the Administration does not take vigorous action to force Hanoi to adhere to the Geneva conventions on prisoners of war.

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This picture, released in Poland by the North Viet Nam News Agency, shows two captured U.S. pilots being led through the streets of Hanoi accompanied by a Vietnamese soldier. The pilots were shot down over North Viet Nam.

U.S. Marines of India Company haul a wounded comrade through the jungle after bitter fighting against Hanoi regulars in which the company took over 50 per cent casualties. U.S. toll to date: over 4,800 dead and missing, 25,000 wounded.

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Conservatives Show Strength In Primaries Around Country

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Battle for Right to Work Now Pushed at Grassroots

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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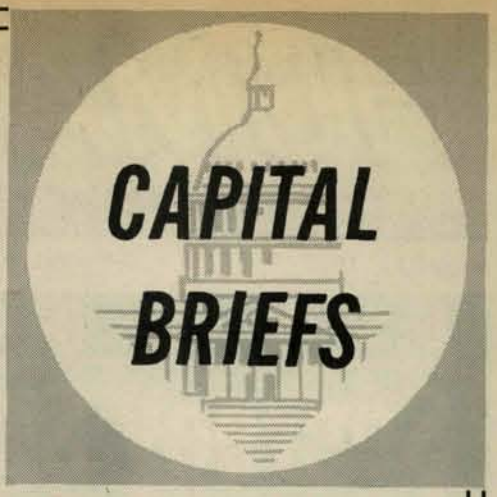

● A newly formed New York group will lead the campaign against Mayor John Lindsay's controversial civilian-dominated Police Review Board. The honorary chairmen of the Independent Citizens Committee Against Civilian Review Boards are former police commissioner Michael J. Murphy; State Sen. Martin J. Knorr, a Republican; and radio moderator Barry Gray. "I consider myself a complete liberal," Gray says, "but if the police are intimidated we're going to have an asphalt jungle."

● The State Department may put as much as a quarter of a million dollars into Castro's depleted treasury as a result of its decision last week to waive a ban on dollar deals with Cuba. The United States, says the department, now stands willing to pay Fidel American money instead of pesos to fly to U.S. shores some 700 Americans and their families stranded in Communist Cuba.

● A recent president of the Berkeley Young Democrats who is also a former state field represenative of the California Young Democrats has now publicly acknowledged his membership in the Communist party. He is Ted Cohen, whose confession appeared in the March issue of **Political Affairs**—the American CP's official theoretical magazine.

● Radical leftists headed by Lord Bertrand Russell will "try" President Johnson, Secretary of Defense Rusk and Defense Secretary McNamara as part of a self-appointed "war crimes tribunal" later this year in Paris. The tribunal will interrogate Vietnamese victims of American "barbarism" and is expected to hand down "guilty" verdicts after the kangaroo trial. Members of the loaded tribunal include Lord Russell, French philosopher Jean Paul Sartre, author Simone de Beauvoir, Italian Socialist Lelio Basse and Jose De Castro, head of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization.

● Republican congressmen are complaining that Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman is preparing, at taxpayers' expense, wallet-sized propaganda for Democrats to use in the November elections. The Department of Agriculture, it turns out, is sending Democratic lawmakers thousands of department cards which purport to show that the farmer has fared far better under the Democrats than under the Republicans.

● David Rusk, the 25-year-old son of the secretary of state, is turning into a fiery civil rights militant. Associate director of the Washington Urban League, Rusk told delegates to the National Urban League's 56th annual convention in Philadelphia that "the crisis of the Negro American can only be solved through a radical distribution of economic and political power." He also suggested that the league become more aggressive in organizing the masses in the Negro ghettos toward police power. Whitney Young, the Negro head of the league, flatly repudiated the idea, stressing, "I don't feel that we can do it and remain the Urban League." Young emphasized that the league was primarily a social service organization, providing jobs and educational counseling for Negroes.

● Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R.-Calif.), the Senate's minority whip, appears to be digging his political grave by refusing to support Ronald Reagan in California. Referring to the fact that Kuchel must face re-election in 1968, one Republican moderate is reported to have said: "Moderates as myself are not only angry at Kuchel, but we can't understand why he is so impractical a politician as to expect the Republicans to support him again when he has been the big stumbling block to our party's unity."

● As a result of the Supreme Court decision in the **Miranda** case, seven Miami men charged with rape had to be freed without trial and a confessed murderer in Los Angeles was released from death row; in Cincinnati, a robbery suspect was freed—only to commit another crime upon his release.

● Sen. James Eastland (D.-Miss.) has introduced a resolution declaring it the sense of the Senate that the President oust from this country a Czech diplomat who attempted last year to bug the State Department headquarters in Washington. Government officials have been quoted as saying they cannot boot Zdenek Pisk because he has since left the Czech Embassy in Washington for the Czech mission to the United Nations in New York. Eastland terms this view infantile: "So long as the United States is a sovereign nation, it must have the right to expel aliens who engage in espionage or other activities against the security of the United States. The United States is a sovereign nation, and it does have this right. Failure to expel the Czech espionage agent, Pisk, and weak deferment to the United Nations in this case, approaches the status of a national disgrace."

● Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) last week accused the President of deception in his loudly-declared war on waste. The Delaware lawmaker noted LBJ's December claim that he would reduce the federal payroll by 25,000. Since December, Williams added, 187,000 new employes have been added to bureaucracy, including 73,000 in June alone. The additions since January have added more than $1 billion to the federal budget, Williams declared.

● West Virginia Republicans are making election fraud a major issue in the upcoming elections. John S. Callebs, GOP nominee for secretary of state, has repeatedly noted the fact that the state's voter registration totals exceed census totals of the state's voting age population. The Census Bureau put the state's age 21 and older population at 1,053,000 in 1964 but 1,055,429 persons were registered to vote. Under state law, a man's name may remain on the voting rolls for as many as four years after he dies. In Kanawha County, evidence has turned up of votes cast in the names of dead persons or others who had moved out of the area.

● FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover says the American Communist party has as its main goals today the recruiting of American youth, working with non-Communists in leftist causes and running candidates for political office. The CP's recent 18th National Convention, Hoover declares, reveals the party is a "unified, hard-hitting, well-organized conspiracy, completely loyal to Moscow, committed to the overthrow of our democratic institutions."

● The Senate Finance Committee has put back into the Administration's jobless compensation bill the federal controls which LBJ wants but the House has already rejected. The bill now goes to the Senate floor. Conservative critics say if Congress approves federal dictation, extensive revisions would be required in the unemployment compensation programs of all 50 states.

● Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R.-Calif.), a member of the Defense Appropriations subcommittee, warns that the "basic Administration defense decisions reflect more of a policy seeking for the future to achieve a defense standoff or parity between the Communist bloc and the free world, not a decisive superiority on our part."

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Labor's Assault on Reagan

The big guns of organized labor, paying off previous debts to California's Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, are now mobilizing a frantic effort to salvage the governor's re-election chances. Aware of his desperate uphill struggle to beat conservative GOP candidate Ronald Reagan, labor's moguls are amassing a giant slush fund of $3 million to use on Brown's behalf. California labor leaders say they're prepared to wage as massive a campaign as they did in 1958 when the unions buried Big Bill Knowland and right-to-work under an avalanche of money and propaganda.

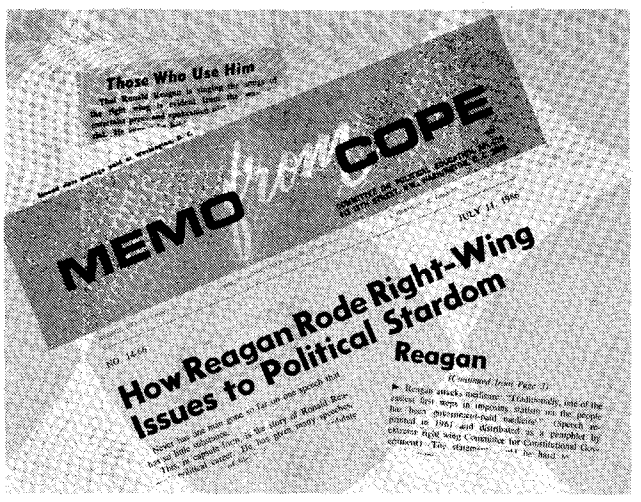
REAGAN

The bosses of organized labor are fairly reeling at the prospects of a Reagan victory. Not only is their privileged status with the Brown Administration hanging in the balance, but a Reagan win would break the tight grip the Democrats and the AFL-CIO have had on the most populous state in the nation. Reagan, as former head of the Screen Actors Guild, is no anti-union man, but the labor leaders know that, unlike Brown, Reagan won't bow to irresponsible union demands.

But there's more at stake for labor than just who controls California. The persistent fear that haunts union chieftains is that politicians across the country might see the advantage of turning conservative if Reagan can win in the biggest population state in the nation.

If this should be the impact of a Reagan triumph, the AFL-CIO would see its Socialistic spending programs fall by the wayside in Washington as well as in the Golden State. Hence, the frenzied campaign to block the GOP gubernatorial candidate.

The AFL-CIO, headquartered in Washington, has already turned on the steamroller. The *Memo* of labor's Committee on Political Education, which is circulated to nearly one million union members in



Anti-Reagan propaganda from the AFL-CIO.

California, has devoted an entire issue to Reagan, maliciously attempting to link him to anti-Negro, anti-Semitic hate groups.

Several weeks ago five union bigwigs, representing millions of dollars, huddled with California AFL-CIO leader Thomas Pitts in the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco to plot their anti-Reagan strategy. Meeting with Pitts were Al Barkan, national director of COPE, the AFL-CIO's political action arm; Roy Siemiller, president of the International Association of Machinists; Paul Jennings, head of the International Union of Electricians; Paul Hall, head of the Seafarer's International Union, and Joseph Keenan, head of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Joining them were the leaders of many California AFL-CIO unions and representatives of local labor councils throughout the state.

Pitts branded Reagan "a real danger to labor" and said the "prime" goal was the election of Brown. What emerged from this meeting were plans to "unleash the most sweeping registration drive in the state's history."

The anti-Reagan campaign, moreover, is to be topped by a statewide full-time political action director, with a northern and southern assistant. In each congressional district, there will be at least one full-time "coordinator." The state AFL-CIO, meeting this week in San Diego, plans to accelerate this anti-Reagan drive.

The zeal of Big Labor is apparent from a recent move of the leaders of Local 12 of the Operating Engineers in Los Angeles. Without the slightest nod to union members wishes, the executive officers tried to transfer $50,000 of general union dues into Brown's campaign. Brown had sought to get this union's backing by permitting the union to "recruit" 3,500 non-union state employes now protected by civil service.

Many union members revolted, however, and this attempted transfer of funds has been temporarily

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

blocked by a Los Angeles court injunction. The injunction was obtained on behalf of the union membership by Rollie Vernon Peterson, a registered Democrat and a union member in good standing. Whatever the final disposition of the case, it reveals the extent to which both Brown and the unions are willing to go to block Reagan's campaign bid.

Can labor turn the tide against Reagan? Unlike the Knowland campaign in 1958, Reagan is going into this fight with a united party behind him. Nearly every major official who worked for George Christopher, Reagan's primary opponent, has now pitched in to work for Reagan himself.

Arch Monson, Christopher's statewide chairman, is now actively supporting Reagan; Tom Pike, Christopher's Southern California chairman, is now Reagan's Southern California co-chairman; Marco Hellman, Christopher's state finance chairman, has become a member of Reagan's finance executive committee. And this touches on only a few of the pro-Christopher people who have joined the Reagan bandwagon.

But party unity, in a state which is 3-to-2 Democratic, will not produce an automatic win. In spite of the polls, the pro-Reagan forces will be unable to coast to any victories in the face of the massive assault by labor's big battalions.

Voters Frown on Smylie

Five state primaries and a local election in the South last week have again revealed the growing conservative sentiment among voters across the country.

The most notable victory chalked up by conservatives occurred in Idaho where three-term Gov. Robert E. Smylie, who has spent much of his time baiting Goldwater and his allies, was overwhelmingly repudiated in the GOP gubernatorial primary by State Sen. Don Samuelson, a staunch conservative. According to the latest returns, Samuelson clobbered Smylie, the actual favorite, by a vote of 52,832 to 33,619, sweeping all but six of the state's 44 counties.

Gov. Smylie's long tenure in office (he has served 12 years as governor) was definitely a factor in the race, but politicos say he would not have received such a thumping defeat save for his noisy support of Republican liberals.

Smylie, a darling of the Ripon Society, backed Nelson Rockefeller against Goldwater in 1964, only lukewarmly backed the senator after he won the nomination and then demanded the scalp of Dean Burch, Goldwater's pick as GOP party chairman, when the Arizonan lost to Johnson. Following Goldwater's defeat, Smylie lined himself up even more closely with the party's liberals and took after the Goldwater supporters in Idaho.

Smylie's loss has sent more than a few shivers down the spines of liberal Republicans, who view Samuelson's victory, along with Reagan's primary win in California, as part of a conservative trend in the GOP. The panicky reactions of the Eastern Establishment press illustrate the liberal apprehension. Weeping for the Idaho governor, the New York *Times* lamented his defeat as "a victory for the die-hard Goldwaterites." The Washington *Evening Star*, a long-time proponent of "moderate" Republicans, warns that this "upset should be taken seriously . . . It should double the determination of the moderates to make certain that 1964 can never happen again."

SAMUELSON

The Chicago *Tribune*, however, sounded an opposite note: "If Smylie's formula and philosophy for successful Republicanism were so infallible, why is it that he could not win in a primary in his own party in his own state? Why, if conservatism is dead, was he beaten by conservatives?. . . .

"No matter what volume of propaganda the 'liberals' launch, conservatism is still what animates the Republican rank-and-file."

Here were the results of other contests:

• Kansas: Republican Sen. James Pearson handily rebuffed a primary challenge by Rep. Robert Ellsworth, who has rapidly been transforming himself into a Lindsay-type liberal. Ellsworth had been part of Lindsay's "Wednesday Club," a group of liberal Republican lawmakers that tried to push the House Republican leadership to the left.

• Missouri: By more than 2 to 1 Rep. Durward G. Hall (R) trounced Aurora attorney J. Hal Moore, who had attacked Hall for his staunch conservatism. Hall's healthy victory margin in the primary stunned political observers in the state.

• Georgia: In a local election in Savannah, Goldwater Republican J. Curtis Lewis Jr. was elected as mayor, the first Republican ever to hold this post. Georgia oldtimers say they do not remember any Republican having ever run for mayor before. Lewis, moreover, swept in an entire Republican city council with him. The outcome, say the pros, bodes well for the GOP in Georgia this year, particularly for Rep. Howard (Bo) Callaway, a Goldwater Republican who is running for governor.

• Democratic results in both Michigan and Tennessee can be considered setbacks for Bobby Kennedy. In the Michigan senatorial primary, G. Mennen Williams defeated Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh, who had taken the line of the "peaceniks" on Viet Nam. Williams generally supported the Administration position. Cavanagh had help from two public relations men, William Haddad and Robert Clampitt, both considered very close to Bobby.

• In Tennessee, former Gov. Buford Ellington triumphed in the Democratic gubernatorial primary over John Jay Hooker Jr., a 35-year-old Nashville attorney who was considered a Kennedy liberal. E. William Henry, a close friend of the Kennedys' and former chief of the Federal Communications Commission, was Hooker's campaign manager. The Tennessee contest also saw Sen. Ross Bass (D.-Tenn.) lose to Gov. Frank Clement in the senatorial primary. One reason for the Bass' defeat: his opposition to right-to-work.

LBJ's Union Bias

Legislators on Capitol Hill have expressed disgust at LBJ's blatant pro-union bias in the handling of both the airline strike and the steel industry's decision to raise prices on sheet and strip steel.

In the case of the one-month-old airline dispute, it is pointed out, the President refused to act for weeks until Congress and public pressures finally forced him to. And when he finally tried coaxing a settlement from both industry and labor, he did it

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on the basis of a proposal which exceeded his own wage guidelines by some 34 per cent.

When the strikers rejected this plush deal, LBJ said he was unhappy, but, once again, refused to do anything to end the strike and threw no temper tantrums at the unions for their outrageous demands.

(The Senate has finally carried the ball by passing a bill under which Congress would take responsibility for sending the men back to work for 30 days and authorized the President to extend this time, while efforts to settle the dispute go on.)

But when the steel companies jacked up their prices last week, the Administration immediately let out a howl.

The head of U.S. Steel, the largest steel company, said his concern's price boosts were well under the 3.2 per cent price guidelines. Yet within hours after U.S. Steel had announced its decision, Gardner Ackley, head of the Council of Economic Advisers, released an LBJ-approved statement declaring that its price hikes were "irresponsible."

Ackley impugned the patriotism of U.S. Steel by saying this was not the time to raise prices when "Americans are fighting overseas." Yet nowhere did Ackley declare that the price rise was inflationary, as the demands by the stricking airline unions clearly are by Ackley's own standards.

Ackley, moreover, indicated that the Administration was seriously thinking of trying to roll back the price hikes as it has successfully done with the copper, aluminum and steel industries in the past.

In short, LBJ refuses to take reprisals against labor unions which react in a far more "irresponsible" manner than industry.

LBJ Moves Against Tower

Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr, who's desperately trying to unseat Republican Sen. John Tower in this fall's election, has become the darling of the LBJ Administration ever since he began telling people he would vote for some "Great Society" programs that Tower has opposed.

As a result of Carr's decision, the Administration has gone all out in his behalf. Only last week it was revealed that the LBJ-appointed chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission has been sending out on official government stationery—apparently franked at taxpayers' expense—letters to Texans urging them to back Carr. Post Office spokesmen say the "use of the frank by executive branch officials for private or political mail carries a $300 fine."

TOWER

Maritime chieftain John Harllee, who sent the letter interfering in the Texas campaign, is not even a registered Texas voter. Originally appointed by Kennedy and reappointed to his post last year by LBJ, Harllee also happens to be a cousin of Elizabeth Carpenter, Mrs. Johnson's press secretary.

A letter that Harlee wrote on July 12 to Thad Grundy of Houston, which Grundy sent to Tower's office, read:

"I am doing everything I can to help Attorney General Waggoner Carr get elected to the United States Senate. I hope that you give him all the support possible. It would be appreciated."

The envelope contained no stamp and printed on the outside were these words "postage and fees paid by the Federal Maritime Commission." Harllee acknowledges sending the letters, but claims the stamp must have "dropped off."

He told a UPI reporter that he saw "nothing wrong with the use of official Maritime Commission stationery in writing the letter."

Trade With Red China?

Abba Schwartz was forced out of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs earlier this year, but his liberal immigration and passport policies linger on. *Human Events* said at the time his removal probably wouldn't change matters much, and it hasn't. Consider, for example, just some of actions taken by the department since Schwartz's departure in March:

• Reissued a passport to Marxist Staughton Lynd, after he had deliberately violated passport regulations by traveling to Hanoi and then denouncing American resistance to communism in South Viet Nam.

• Issued a passport to newsman John Raymond to travel to North Viet Nam after Raymond wrote the pro-Communist *National Guardian*: "I can offer my sincere wishes for a decisive victory by Ho Chi Minh and the people of North Viet Nam." (See *Human Events*, July 16, page 10.)

Yet the Department has loosened up the passport restrictions even further. Under new guidelines announced recently, Americans will find it easier to travel to such Communist countries as Cuba, mainland China, NorthViet Nam, North Korea and Albania. According to a department press release, professional reporters, scholars, doctors, scientists in the field of medicine and Red Cross representatives will be able to travel to these presently restricted areas.

Pro-Red scholars and newsmen, whom the Commusts will readily admit into their countries, will no doubt soon be filling Amercan newspapers with favorable accounts of these Red nations. The American press has already been willing to publish "on-the-spot" coverage of North Viet Nam by Australian Communist Wilfred Burchett. But this is only part of the concern over these new department policies.

If the secretary of state, for example, finds it in the "national interest," Americans will be able to travel to these Red countries for "commercial" as well as cultural and professional reasons.

Indeed, the State Department's first act following the liberalization of these regulations was to validate a passport to Red China of a Providence, R.I. industrialist, G. William Miller, president of Textron, Inc.

Officials of the department in a July 11 background briefing admitted that Miller received his passport for "commercial" purposes. Moreover, a New York *Times* report (July 17, 1966) says that department sources explained Miller was " 'an influential business leader,' prominent in the textile industry, who could be a source of technical knowledge to the Chinese as well as a 'keen observer' for American business and government interests."

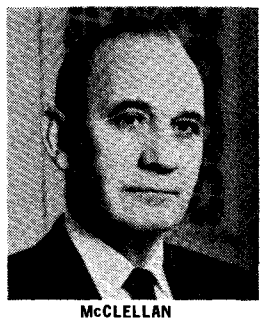
Why, it is now being asked, should the State Department grant a passport for "commercial" purposes, save for the fact that it hopes to open up trade with the Red mainland? Why, too, would the department grant a passport to someone "who could be a source of technical knowledge to the Chinese"?

But such are the ways in which the passport and immigration regulations are being used in the post-Abba-Schwartz State Department.

TFX: A Flying Edsel

The Senate Investigations subcommittee, headed by John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.), may once again peer into the controversial decision by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara to award the multi-billion-dollar TFX fighter-bomber contract to General Dynamics in LBJ's Texas.

The McClellan hearings in 1963 revealed that Pentagon military and engineering experts had acclaimed the Boeing version of the plane — which would have been constructed in Republican Kansas. But McNamara refused to listen, insisting that the General Dynamics design would save a billion dollars and produce a better plane. When the subcommittee asked then Comptroller General Joseph Campbell to check out McNamara's savings claims, Campbell reported he could find no figures and discovered that McNamara had relied on a rough estimate.


McCLELLAN

But that estimate appears to have been dead wrong. The TFX weapons system is now 12 to 18 months behind schedule. The first three prototypes were so badly overweight they were useless for carrier operations. The cost, it is estimated, will be at least a billion dollars more than was originally forecast.

The plane, with not too many adjustments, was supposed to be suitable for the Air Force, the Navy and the Marines. The Navy has quietly scaled back its planned procurement from 350 to fewer than 150 planes. The Marine Corps has already told Congress it does not intend to use the plane for close air support of troops. Nor is this all.

In a recent test flight, for example, the third model in a five-model development series for the Navy reached a combat ceiling of only 48,000 feet, 12,000 feet below requirements set down in Navy specifications and 8,000 feet below the performance promised by General Dynamics. Fully loaded with fuel, the Navy model tips the scales at 78,000 pounds—14,000 pounds overweight.

Chairman George Mahon (D.-Tex.) of the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee says McNamara's decision to overrule the military "may turn out to be a failure."

Members of Mahon's panel agree. Rep. William Minshall (R.-Ohio) says "Everyone we talked to in the Navy said they don't like this airplane and do not want it." Rep. Robert Sikes (D.-Fla.) remarks "The Navy is scared to say anything except that they hope to overcome the deficiencies. I'm afraid we're going to wind up with a second-rate plane. Sooner or later there's going to be a full-dress investigation."

This now seems to be a good possibility, thanks to McNamara's old antagonist, John McClellan.

NSA(Cont.)

Washington politicos are convinced that Administration officials intend to use the upcoming convention of the radical National Student Association as a launching pad for proposals which would allow young men to evade the military draft by substituting alternative national service. According to informed sources, the plan is based upon Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's speech in Montreal last spring and would allow young men to substitute service in the Peace Corps or the anti-poverty program for service in the armed forces.

McNAMARA

One of the principal Administration spokesmen at the workshops on the draft at the 19th National Student Congress, August 20-September 1, will be top Peace Corps official Harris Wofford who, according to NSA officials, favors the McNamara ploy on social action as a substitute for military service.

Wofford may be remembered for his support of George Johnson, a returned Peace Corps volunteer, who manned a table in the State Department cafeteria and distributed literature calling upon the Administration to "end the hostilities" toward the Communists in Viet Nam.

Last October, NSA President Philip Sherburne appeared at the National Press Club with Paul Booth of the Students for a Democratic Society when the SDS representative proposed a plan similar to the McNamara proposal.

Wofford's appearance at the NSA Congress this month is part of the seminar on the military draft arranged by NSA staff member Joseph McDermott. McDermott is a graduate student at Fordham University and was active in the New York City "peace movement" before joining the NSA staff last spring. In New York, he helped to arrange some "peace education" seminars. More recently, McDermott helped plan the conferences on the draft which were held at the offices of the National Council of Churches.

Wofford's appearance at the NSA conference is another chapter in the Administration's strange courtship of this left-leaning student group. Just last week, Rep. James B. Utt (R.-Calif.) called for an investigation of State Department financial support of NSA, but the Johnson Administration continues to seek "the consensus" in the most unlikely places.

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A Russian tank burned out by Hungarian students stands in a Budapest street. Later Hungarian efforts were not so successful.

What Would Happen If Captive Nations Revolted Against USSR?

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

"What would happen if five captive nations of East Europe revolted against their Russian-imposed regimes at the same time?"

This was the question that I put to several fellow guests at the recent annual Captive Nations Week dinner here in Washington.

My thought was so far removed from current thinking that even refugees from those countries seemed stunned. Then each asked for an explanation. "You mean, Mr. Mowrer?"

"I am supposing that a 'little war of liberation' breaks out in each of, say, five or more captive nations, on the same day, possibly by agreement among the patriots. Would the Soviet Union try to suppress them? If it did, could it treat all five as it treated Hungary back in 1956? Also, I am asking [of each refugee leader among those questioned] whether your people are ready for such a revolt."

Here are some replies: "The Polish people are anti-Communist and the Soviet Union forced communism upon them in part, thanks to clever exploitation of their hatred of Nazi Germany. Let the Russian troops withdraw with no chance of returning and communism in Poland will not last a week."

My Czechoslavakian friend said: "We are a less passionate people than, say, the Poles. Our forte is passive resistance. You remember the Good Soldier Schweik of the novel. In 1948 a number of people were ready to give communism a try. But what happened? The Soviets systematically milked our industry, buying at a low price, selling us oil at an extravagant figure.

"The stooge Communist government made no effort to keep our once magnificent industries in good shape, still less to modernize them. In consequence, Czechoslovakia, which once had a living standard second only to that of Germany, is now in permanent economic crisis. Ninety per cent of the people would rebel tonight if they saw a chance of success, meaning no Soviet intervention."

From another leading refugee: "We Bulgarians had a historical friendship for Russia which made Russian-imposed communism more palatable at first. Now after 20-odd years, the mass of Bulgarians are not only savagely anti-Communist but anti-Russian as well."

A fourth: "Edgar, we Hungarians got our lesson in 1956. We drove out our oppressors and begged for Western assistance. You know what we got: nothing! The Hungarian people are ready for a new revolt at any time—but only if they are sure of American assistance. We see no more chance of that from this Administration than from those of Eisenhower and Kennedy."

I insisted. "Suppose five captive nations revolted simultaneously regardless of outside assistance, what would, and what could, the Soviets do?"

Each of the four gave virtually the same answer. "My people will not revolt without being confident of outside assistance, which, with Europe in its present defeatist mood, means American assistance.

"Nonetheless, you are right—if five captive peoples rose against communism at the same time, particularly if Russo-Chinese tensions had grown sharper, the Russians would be incapable of dealing with more than one or two of them. The others would recover their freedom. Then of course, it would be up to you Americans to see that they kept it—by say, moving in your NATO forces from Germany. Unhappily, I see no sign of even that much will for liberation on the part of your Administration. Do you?"

I had to admit that I saw little or none. Some U.S. officials are in such terror of new revolts by the captive nations that they talk – only half seriously, of course—of assisting the Soviets in repressing them if they occur!

Nonetheless, I put a last question to myself: "If the United States can risk escalation and nuclear destruction in defense of the South Vietnamese, why does it fear to take the same risk in order to restore freedom to suffering peoples for whose plight FDR was at least partly responsible?"

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☐ ☐ ☐

POTOMAC FEVER — Luci's wedding gown carried a union label. Something old, something new, something borrowed and something to help Daddy's people hold the garment district in line. —By Jack Wilson in the Washington *Star*

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RACES of the WEEK

This is the seventh installment of our regular pre-election feature, Races of the Week. Each week until Election Day, November 8, *Human Events* will offer as many analyses of key election contests from coast to coast as space permits.

Colorado Senate Contest

Allott vs. Romer

A shadowy Washington-based peace group, the Council for a Livable World, is pouring funds into Colorado to defeat Republican Sen. Gordon Allott. Recipient of the CLW largesse is Roy R. Romer, an obscure state senator and member of the Democratic party's liberal wing.

It is not known exactly how much the CLW is giving Romer. The group takes advantage of loopholes in the Federal Corrupt Practices Act to carry on most of its financing in secret. One thing however, is known—the CLW platform.

It consists of five major planks: (1) a ban on all underground nuclear tests (no mention is made of the on-site inspections necessary to verify that such a treaty is lived up to); (2) a drastic reduction in military spending; (3) abolition of all restrictions on East-West trade; (4) an end to travel bans that prevent Americans from visiting Red China, North Viet Nam and Cuba; (5) a "non-aligned" Viet Nam.

Romer expects considerable labor aid in his campaign against Allott (who incurred the wrath of organized labor by defending Section 14b from repeal). State AFL-CIO President Herrick Roth has put together a statewide coalition of organized labor, Negro and Spanish-American groups and the ultra-liberal Farmers Union to work for Allott's defeat.

Although polls indicate Romer trails Allott by a wide margin, the GOP senator is by no means cocky. Colorado is a swing state that gave Lyndon Johnson more than 60 per cent of the vote in 1964. All of the state's four congressmen are Democrats and the lower house of the state legislature is also Democratic.

Romer is trying to attack Allott for his support of Barry Goldwater in 1964. He has hit Allott's vote against Medicare, saying that the GOP solon is "determined to perpetuate the Goldwater pattern of negative voting in the U.S. Senate."

Allott has defended his record of "fiscal common sense." A member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, he has frequently stood alone in opposition to Administration boondoggles. He opposed the aid to Appalachia bill last year, asserting it "would create an unprecedented opportunity for log rolling." Federal funds, he said, "will gush forth without reasons."

The Coloradan was one of 12 senators to vote "no" on the Area Redevelopment program, labeling the bill a "fiscal travesty" in which hundreds of millions of dollars would be squandered.

Allott has fought hard for legislation reversing the Supreme Court decision on legislative reapportionment. The Colorado senator notes that the people of his state specifically endorsed their legislative makeup in 1962 and that the high court has "maliciously defied" their wishes.

ALLOTT

Allott, 59, will be seeking his third term in the Senate. A former Young Republican National Chairman, Allott was first elected to public office more than 30 years ago. He was a county attorney, district attorney and lieutenant governor before his election to the Senate in 1954.

Wisconsin's 1st District

Schadeberg vs. Stalbaum

When Henry Schadeberg returned home last week from six weeks active duty in the Naval Reserve he was met by 500 neighbors who wished him luck in the upcoming campaign.

Schadeberg, who represented the 1st District from 1961 to 1965, lost his seat in the Johnson landslide. When LBJ swept the district by 39,000 votes he carried Lynn Stalbaum into Congress by 5,000.

Now Stalbaum is on his own and the 1964 rematch should be one of the most exciting in the nation. Stalbaum, who was elected with ADA, COPE and Teamster backing, has given the President rubber-stamp support on key "Great Society" programs. (The Americans for Constitutional Action give him a conservative voting record of only 11.)

Schadeberg and Stalbaum find themselves on opposite ends of the political pole on virtually every issue. Schadeberg is a caustic critic of the scandal-racked "War on Poverty"; Stalbaum gives the anti-poverty program wholehearted support. Schadeberg is a vocal opponent of Administration boondoggles; Stalbuam has given consistent support to increased federal spending. Schadeberg is a tough anti-Communist who formerly served on the House Committee on Un-American Activities; Stalbaum is a doctrinaire liberal who has refused to join such prominent Democrats as Sen. Paul Douglas in opposing Red China's admittance to the United Nations.

During his recent stint in the Naval Reserve, Schadeberg (an ordained Congregational minister) served as a chaplain at the Coronado Naval Base in California. There he spoke with literally hundreds of men just back from Viet Nam, many of them seriously wounded.

"I believe we owe it to these men to finish the noble job they have started," Schaderberg says. "And we owe it to the American people to give them an honest appraisal of the war and the future."

He quotes CBS-TV correspondent Morley Safer's report that Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester recently remarked, "Look, if you think an official is going to tell you the truth, then you're stupid. Did you hear that—stupid!"

In talks with factory workers, Schadeberg makes the high cost of living a major issue. "The working man knows full well," he says, "that government-inspired inflation has wiped out any wage increases he may have earned."

The dollar bill is now worth 43.4 cents compared to the 1940 dollar, he tells voters. "A man with two children must earn $13,234 per year to equal the purchasing power of $5,000 earned in 1940."

Stalbaum tells housewives that Administration officials—including the President—have suggested they beat the high cost of living by purchasing "the cheaper cuts" of meat. What cheaper cuts? Schadeberg demands. "Hamburger is up 11 per cent from a year ago, chuck 13 per cent and poultry 17 per cent."

SCHADEBERG

Michigan Senate Contest

Griffin vs. Williams

On few matters do Walter Reuther and Jimmy Hoffa, bitter personal antagonists, agree. Both, however, term imperative the defeat this November of Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.) by former Gov. G. Mennen Williams. The Detroit *News* suggests why:

"Williams operated in such subservience to labor political bosses within the state that outside of it he was pictured as the AFL-CIO's dancing bear in a polka dot collar."

In contrast, Griffin has repeatedly defied organized labor during his ten years on Capitol Hill. The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education gave him only one "right" vote (the Civil Rights Act) during the 88th Congress. He was termed "anti-labor" on public works, mass transit, aid to education, foreign aid, packing of the House Rules Committee and the bracero program, among others.

Griffin committed the unpardonable sin in 1959 when, as a congressman, he co-authored—and guided into law—the Landrum-Griffin labor reform act. Organized labor launched a massive campaign to defeat him for re-election, but Griffin triumphed in 1960, again in 1962 and again in 1964. He was appointed to the Senate earlier this year to fill the vacancy created by the death of Democrat Pat McNamara.

Williams last week defeated Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh for the Democratic senatorial nomination. Polls indicate that Griffin and Williams are running neck-and-neck right now, with a pivotal number of voters yet undecided.

It has been eight years since "Soapy" Williams last ran for elective office in Michigan and millions of new voters have since arrived in the state. The Detroit *News* recently summarized Williams' 12 years as governor:

"His was an administration recorded in crisis headlines but achieving no progress. It brought Michigan near bankruptcy. It achieved for Michigan the nationally recognized title of 'welfare state.' It was funded in large part by raiding emergency monies previously laid aside. Eventually even the Veterans Trust Fund was grabbed and an IOU left in the till."

Under Williams, industry fled, unemployment soared, state employes went without pay. He left the state wallowing in red ink, the state's bonds selling at a poor risk level.

Williams last ran for governor in 1958 and trailed all other statewide Democrats. He made a half-hearted bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1960 and declined to run for a seventh term that fall. Capitalizing on anti-Williams sentiment, Republican George Romney won a thumping victory to succeed Soapy.

When John Kennedy was elected President in 1960, Walter Reuther reportedly demanded a cabinet-level post—secretary of labor, or health, education and welfare chief—for Williams, but he was rebuffed. Soapy was named assistant secretary of state of African affairs, a job so far removed from policy making that it had previously been held by a civil servant.

GRIFFIN

"Williams' claim to success in that assignment is best measured by counting the number of dependable friends this country now has in Africa," a Michigan newspaper recently observed.

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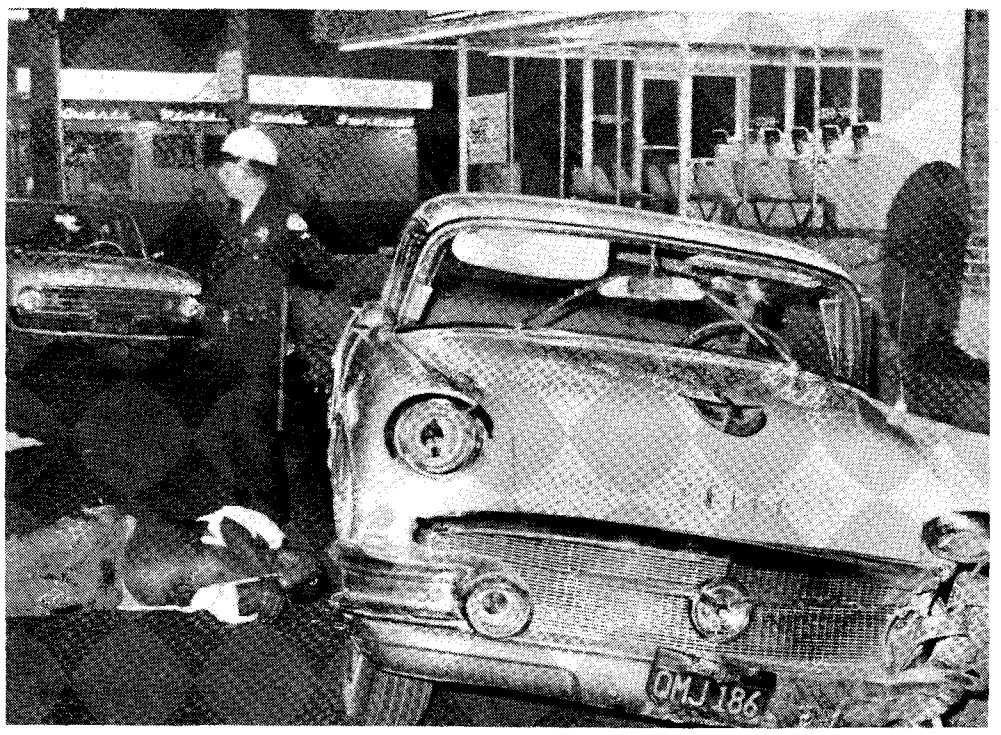

A Los Angeles policeman stands over a wounded motorist during last year's Watts rioting. The driver ignored orders from lawmen to stop and crashed through a police barricade.

Suspect Organized Violence

House Groups Probe Activities Of Outsiders in Big-City Riots

From the Allen-Scott Report

Two congressional committees are turning investigational spotlights on individuals and organizations behind the recent rioting in the nation's big cities.

The House Judiciary Committee, whose members include some of the staunchest civil rights advocates in Congress, will open an inquiry into the Cleveland riots immediately after the House concludes consideration of the civil rights bill. This unannounced probe, which has the support of both House leaders and the White House, is being launched to determine if the racial outbreak was organized and whether the violence was linked to a pro-Castro organization trying to influence Negro civil rights groups to use force.

A second inquiry, covering the racial disturbances in Brooklyn, Chicago, Cleveland and other cities, is being undertaken by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Its staff is already gathering information on the activities of militant civil rights advocates of "black power" and their possible ties with Communist-sponsored peace and espionage groups.

The contemplated probes into this highly controversial field, which only a few weeks ago was deemed taboo because of powerful political factors, was given the green light by Speaker John McCormack after President Johnson voiced disapproval of racial disturbances in his Indianapolis speech.

"The President's denunciation of the violence in Brooklyn, Cleveland and Chicago broke the congressional ice," explained a House Judiciary Committee member. "We never would have gotten clearance for an investigation if the President hadn't spoken out and used such strong language."

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), Judiciary Chairman who ordered the probe, acted on a bipartisan request from the ranking Ohioans on the committee—Reps. William McCulloch (R), and Michael Feighan (D), both strong civil rights advocates. They demanded the inquiry after Cleveland officials and church leaders provided them with evidence that many of the rioters came from out of town, including several carloads from Chicago, where they reputedly had participated in earlier outbreaks.

Father Albert Koklowsky, whose parish is in the midst of the riot-torn Hough area of Cleveland, told the legislators that the day before the explosion, numerous out-of-state cars—mostly with Illinois license plates—were parked on side streets of the strife-stricken section.

The use of Molotov cocktails and sniping from rooftops were perpetrated by persons that neither Father Koklowsky nor his parishioners knew or recognized. As one of the most active and best known anti-poverty workers, Father Koklowsky is acquainted with nearly all the Negroes in the Hough area.

Cleveland's police chief Richard Wagner notified the legislators that he is prepared to provide first-hand evidence that the firebomb attacks, which destroyed or damaged more than 100 buildings, were planned and executed by "graduates" of a training school known as the JFK (Jomo Freedom Kenyatta) House.

Reports that the JFK House got financial support from an organization receiving funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity, which administers the multi-billion dollar anti-poverty program, are being checked by the Cleveland police, and their findings will be turned over to the Judiciary Committee.

Staff members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities are looking into the activities of Robert Stanford, a leader of the Revolutionary Armed Movement, who has been holding a series of "Black Power workshops" in major Northern cities. Reports indicate that these training sessions, attended by the most militant Negro activists, are usually held about a week to ten days before a riot occurs.

The committee plans to grill Stanford and other RAM leaders on the organization's ties with Robert Williams, known as "Chief-in-exile," who now alternates between Havana and Peking, drumming up support for a Negro uprising in the U.S. Williams, a police fugitive, is wanted on charges of kidnapping in Monroe, N.C.

Attorney General Katzenbach has informed the House investigators that the "Justice Department is aware of the activities of the Revolutionary Action Movement and its officials are under close surveillance."

* * *

President Johnson's "home movies" are one of the features at entertainments for foreign visitors at the White House and evening cruises down the Potomac on the presidential yacht. When the President was host to a group of African ambassadors, he showed them films of his Texas ranch, his recent trip to Mexico, and the Johnson family inspecting parts of the White House not usually shown guests. Rep. Silvio Conte (R.-Mass.), a guest on the cruise, related, "The President was in a gay mood throughout the trip and seemed to enjoy showing the films.". . . . South Carolina Republicans are making a major issue of Gov. Robert McNair's membership in the $1,000-a-year President's Club. Joseph Rogers, Republican candidate for governor, is citing the membership as proof of McNair's close ties to President Johnson, whose popularity in South Carolina is at a low ebb.

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Progressive Labor Active

Will Watts Erupt Again?

By BILL SCHULZ

The riot-scarred ghetto of Watts will once again erupt in flames if the militant—and predominantly white—leaders of the Progressive Labor Party have their way.

The PLP was founded several years ago by Milt Rosen and Mort Scheer, self-proclaimed revolutionaries who left the Communist party, USA, because they were convinced it was lacking in ideological zeal. Scheer, the newer group's vice president, is currently directing West Coast operations. PLP leaders are working closely with black nationalists to keep the Watts cauldron boiling. When a white policeman shot and killed a Negro motorist earlier this year, PLP agents turned out thousands of "Wanted for Murder" posters that bore his picture.

The handbills were distributed throughout Watts by white-hating Negro militants. These same black nationalists are now circulating a PLP publication entitled "The Revolt in Watts and the Coming Battle."

This particular tome drives home the point that Los Angeles is "the hub of a mammoth industrial complex. . . The greatest fear of the imperialist enemy is that the black people in the south Los Angeles ghetto will shut down the factories. . . The black people of south Los Angeles possess a weapon more powerful than 22,000 guns! And black people can choose their own time and places of battle."

The publication contains a detailed map in which major factories and industrial centers are pinpointed. Among the sites singled out by the PLP are the General Motors assembly plant and the industrial complex of Goodyear Rubber.

Note: The only Negro to hold a leadership position in Progressive Labor, Bill Epton, is serving time in a New York state penitentiary for his role in the 1964 Harlem riots.

Epton trained people in the preparation and use of Molotov cocktails. He organized guerrilla bands. He harangued crowds and demanded violence. Sample from one Epton speech during the 1964 riots: "In the process of smashing the state, we're going to have to kill a lot of cops, a lot of these judges and we'll have to go up against their army."

* * *

They aren't saying so publicly, but Republican strategists believe they have an excellent chance to elect a GOP governor in Florida. He is Claude Kirk, an articulate young campaigner who is challenging Democrat Robert King High, ultra-liberal Miami mayor. High defeated incumbent Gov. Haydon Burns, a conservative, in a bitter primary and Burns has refused adamantly to endorse the Miami mayor. A number of the governor's long-time political allies are openly working for Kirk.

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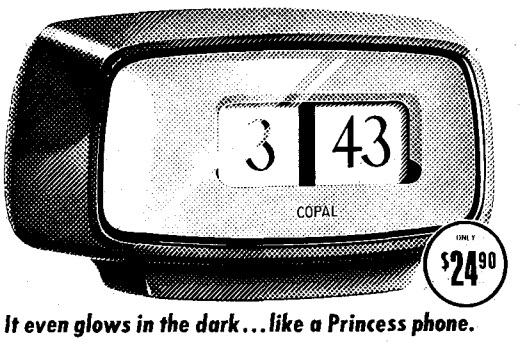

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Groups in 30 States Planned by End of '66

Right-to-Work Battle Shifts to Grassroots

BY LEE EDWARDS

On Feb. 10, 1966, the U.S. Senate decisively rejected any repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, prompting Democratic Majority Leader Mike Mansfield to comment wearily, let repeal "rest in peace."

Reed Larson, executive vice president of the indefatigable National Right to Work Committee, immediately released a statement to the press. Larson's timing was predictable, but what he said was not.

Larson did not use the occasion, as many might have done, to pin medals on himself, his associates and their supporters, especially the redoubtable Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois—who led the successful filibuster.

He declared, rather, that the National Right to Work Committee was stepping up its "Operation Grassroots" and would have, by the end of 1966, some 30 state organizations actively promoting the principle of voluntary unionism.

"The momentum gained in the victory last October," stated Larson, "and again this year has set the stage for numerous new state drives for right-to-work laws."

This was no idle boast. Today, it can be said that "Operation Grassroots" is right on schedule with public reaction exceeding the most optimistic expectations in several states.

Prior to this year, there were right-to-work organizations in 10 states. Since New Year's Day 1966, committees have been formed in Iowa, North Dakota, Delaware, Montana, West Virginia, Massachusetts and Missouri, making a total of 17 state right-to-work groups. Others are in the process of being formed and organized in selected states across the country.

As Larson has explained, the "new militant well-organized citizen drives . . . now taking root in many states are of two types. In Iowa, the objective is to protect and strengthen the existing state right-to-work law. In New Mexico and Massachusetts, the objective is the eventual enactment of a state ban on compulsory unionism—a right-to-work law."

The National Right to Work Committee is confronted with a formidable task. At present, 19 states, containing about 30 per cent of our population, have right-to-work laws; the other 31 do not (meaning that many workers *must* join unions if they want to hold their jobs). But seemingly "impossible" tasks are a familiar story to the committee.

Following the 1964 LBJ landslide it was said that repeal of Section 14b was "inevitable." And so it seemed:

But the National Right to Work Committee was undaunted. Its leadership knew from repeated polls that public opinion – although unorganized and generally inarticulate—was in favor of the right-to-work principle. The 1965 Opinion Research Corp. poll, in fact; found that two-thirds of the American people favored retention of Section 14b. The Gallup and Harris surveys revealed similar backing.

The National Committee therefore decided that its major task was two-fold: (1) to make vocal this grass-roots public opinion, thereby influencing members of Congress, and (2) to provide friendly congressmen and senators with every possible assistance in the fight to retain 14b—particularly the key legislators who would lead the struggle.

In their efforts to arouse public opinion, the committee had one great advantage (and this is an advantage that the state groups possess today): A careful study of newspaper reaction to the demand for repeal of 14b revealed that the nation's press was almost unanimous for retention.

The decision was therefore made to publicize these editorial comments and generate as much new editorial support as possible, believing (and rightly as it turned out) that this would affect both citizens and their representatives in Congress.

The literature output was truly phenomenal. During 1965, the committee distributed an estimated 1,250,000 copies of 24 major pieces of literature—*plus* tens of thousands of newsletters, editorial clip sheets, news releases, memos, etc.

Education Was Key

To support this effort, of course, money was needed and fortunately there were adequate finances. As a non-profit educational organization, the National Right to Work Committee is the recipient of tax-deductible contributions. (The committee spent over $1 million in 1965. It expects to have an annual budget of $800,000 for the next several years.)

In addition to literature distribution, the committee also worked closely with Congress, setting up a formal information and research program for the members and testifying for 14b before congressional committees.

Unquestionably, the most important legislative *coup* of the committee was to help persuade Sen. Everett Dirksen to pick up armor and shield and lead the Democrat - Republican coalition against repeal. Following the passage of repeal of Section 14b in the House of Representatives July 28, 1965, Sen. Dirksen's active leadership was absolutely vital.

While it is difficult to overemphasize the importance of Sen. Dirksen's role, other senators played important parts in the struggle to preserve Section 14b. Sam Ervin of North Carolina shared leadership with Sen. Dirksen of the Republican and Democratic senators who stood up for the principle of right-to-work.

Sen. Strom Thurmond's dramatic talk to the Senate Republican Policy Committee was considered instrumental in galvanizing Republicans to resist the repeal move, as was the quiet, but effective pitch made to individual Republicans by Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.).

Joining with them were many others, including John McClellan of Arkansas, Carl Curtis of Nebraska, John Tower of Texas, Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa, Karl Mundt of South Dakota, Spessard Holland and George Smathers of Florida, Willis Robertson of Virginia, and Frank Lausche of Ohio.

Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), hero of the successful filibuster against repeal of Section 14b, is shown meeting with regional chairmen of Women's Organization for the Right to Work. From left: Miss Vivian Kellems, Stonington, Conn.; Mrs. Robert Sturr, Downey, Calif.; Mrs. Jack Westland, Pebble Beach, Calif.; Mrs. Clarence Fauntleroy, Sudbury, Mass.; Sen. Dirksen; Mrs. Almeta L. W. Lamb, Englewood, N.J.; Mrs. Kennedy Smith, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. John Van Tighem, Great Falls, Mont.; and Mrs. Taffy Goldsmith, Dallas, Tex.

Twice in October 1965 the Senate refused to stop debate over 14b, but Majority Leader Mike Mansfield promised to bring it up again in the new session—and he did. But again he failed—twice. On the final vote, February 10, he was stopped cold, 48 to 50. (This was 16 votes short of the two-thirds needed and represented the highest total for right-to-work supporters.)

At last, Mansfield had enough and buried repeal of Section 14b for the rest of the 89th Congress.

Although officials of the National Right to Work Committee did not occupy themselves complimenting each other, political observers wasted no time in praising the committee.

Barely pausing to pick up all the bouquets, the National Right to Work Committee set about the business of strengthening present state organizations and helping to establish new groups wherever possible. In fact, "Operation Grassroots" moved forward while repeal of Section 14b was being debated in the Senate.

As stated earlier, seven new state right-to-work organizations have so far been formed in 1966.

• On Jan. 5, Dr. J. Richard Palmer, president of Morningside College, Sioux City, accepted the chairmanship of Iowans for Right to Work. Iowa has had a state right-to-work law since 1947, but a heavily Democratic state legislature has threatened to repeal it.

• In late January, Benjamin E. Gordon, a prominent Boston labor relations attorney, was elected president of the new Massachusetts Chapter of the National Right to Work Committee. Massachusetts does not have a right-to-work law.

Although Massachusetts may not seem to be a likely state for a successful right-to-work drive, at least one union leader there wasn't afraid to take a stand. Maurice D. Carroll, president of Local 631 of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen for the past 12 years, was elected to the chapter's board of directors. Asked to explain his position, Carroll did not hem or haw: "This is not a union-busting organization. It is set up for the single purpose of fighting repeal of 14b and getting a right-to-work law here.

"I feel I represent the general feeling of my membership," said Carroll. "I also hope other union members will have the courage to step up and join me."

Sad to relate, Maurice Carroll has felt the full force of an outraged and dictatorial union leadership in Massachusetts. Soon after his statement and his election to the board of directors of the Massachusetts Chapter, Carroll was ousted as president of local 631 and then kicked out of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. No reason was given. He has not worked since February of this year. It is a tribute to his courage and belief in principles that he has steadfastly refused to resign from the Massachusetts Chapter of the National Right to Work Committee.

R-T-W Expands

• On February 5, P.M. Schultz, a rancher and former businessman, was named chairman of North Dakota Citizens for Right to Work. North Dakota is one of nine states in which right-to-work proposals have been approved by popular vote—in the case of North Dakota back in 1948. Schultz said that "the citizens of North Dakota cannot afford to sit back and let politicians in Washington void long-standing state laws such as our state right-to-work law."

• On February 23, only 12 days after the Senate had rejected repeal of 14b, it was announced that George Hodel, president and general manager of the Beckley Newspapers Corp. had been selected chairman of the new West Virginia Chapter of the National Right to Work Committee. West Virginia does not have a right-to-work law.

One of the directors of the West Virginia chapter is Mrs. Frank Sine of Wheeling, a labor union member and typical of the substantial and growing labor representation on right-to-work committees.

(Continued on next page)

At 33, Mr. Edwards is already a veteran writer and publicist. A frequent contributor to conservative journals, he was the first editor of the New Guard, *the YAF publication, and is co-editor of the book,* Behind the Civil Rights Mask. *His most recent article in* Human Events *was "Why Californians Look to Ronald Reagan."*

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• In early April, C.T. Clark Jr., an oil and gas lease broker, was named chairman of the Montana Right to Work Committee.

Clark explained the purposes of the Montana Committee in this way:

"Montana is a compulsory union state. In fact, the first task of our organization will be to acquaint the general public with the fact that compulsory unionism is permitted in Montana today.

"An additional purpose of our committee will be to prevent any further action by the Montana legislature in support of repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. This actually was done by the 1964 legislature in Montana. It goes to illustrate the extent to which COPE political pressure has influenced the Montana legislature."

• On April 14, Richard P. Borage, vice president of the International Oil Burner Company of St. Louis, was named chairman of the Missouri Right to Work Committee. Missouri does not have a state right-to-work law.

Says Borage, "unions are necessary, but a counterbalance is needed and no one should be forced to join a union."

• Also in April, Richard E. Hardesty was named chairman of the Delaware Right to Work Committee. Delaware does not have an open shop (right-to-work) law.

The prospects for these and other state right-to-work organizations are excellent.

To keep the momentum rolling, Reed Larson and other members of the National Committee have been conducting regional seminars around the country. So far this year, seminars have been held in Des Moines, Iowa; Casper, Wyo.; Philadelphia, Pa.; and Los Angeles, Calif.

Guidelines to Success

The National Committee is convinced that while the problem may vary from state to state—protection of 14b, passage of a right-to-work law, enactment of strengthening amendments—the basic guidelines for success are the same and must be present.

(1) Dedicated volunteer leadership. Right-to-work proponents are up against tough, shrewd opposition in organized labor and must exercise exceptional leadership—continually.

(2) Singleness of purpose. There must be concentration on the elimination of compulsory unionism—and no involvement with any other issue. In the words of the National Committee, "strict adherence to this single purpose enables you to harness the efforts of persons with widely varying political and economic philosophies."

(3) Citizen sponsorship. In the old days, right to work was characterized as a captive project of the greedy grasping, employer, of "Big Business," but right-to-work organizations have learned to bring in people from all walks of life, particularly wage-earners.

(4) Long-range commitment. As the National Committee says, "An effective state right-to-work movement must be prepared to weather defeats and setbacks, continuing to press for its objective."

The most frequently cited example in this area is Kansans for Right to Work, the oldest state organization. The Kansas committee was organized in 1954 and worked so intensively that in 1955 both houses of the state legislature approved an amendment to the state constitution establishing a right-to-work law. The outlook was exceedingly bright.

However, newly-elected Gov. Fred Hall, who had *endorsed* the right-to-work law in his campaign, promptly *vetoed* the amendment. Any less resilient group would have shriveled up. But Kansans for Right to Work immediately began another statewide educational campaign, informing the people of the advantages of voluntary over compulsory unionism. They were so convincing that in 1956 Gov. Hall was beaten in the Republican primary.

In 1957, confronted with a new state legislature, Kansans for Right to Work again urged the passage of a state right-to-work law. The response was overwhelming: Both houses of the legislature passed the bill by a 3/4 majority. And in 1958, in a statewide referendum, the people approved a state right-to-work law by a solid vote of 395,000 to 310,000.

The National Right to Work Committee's Board of Strategy meets in Washington, D.C. From left: John Kilcullen, legal counsel; William Flythe, congressional affairs; Hugh Newton, public relations director; Reed Larson, executive vice president; Edward K. Nellor, director of legislative affairs; and Charles Bailey, director of field activities.

Charles Bailey, field director of the National Right to Work Committee, says that the Kansas experience "is our favorite example of the stamina needed by Right to Work Committees. It also shows that our basic problem is an educational one, and that when the people understand the issue they will endorse the principle of right to work every time."

Bailey's analysis is corroborated by the fact that union officials have been able to force repeal in only two states—Louisiana and Indiana. And both were accomplished by legislative action, not a popular vote. All attempts to erase existing right-to-work laws by public referenda have failed without exception.

Two states of special interest to the National Committee are Iowa and New Mexico.

Iowa has had a state right-to-work law since 1947, but legislative efforts were made in 1959 and 1965 to repeal the law. At present the state legislature is strongly Democratic as a result of the 1964 elections and can be expected to push for repeal again in 1967—*if* all those liberal Democrats are still there.

Signs abound they may not be. Iowa is a traditionally Republican state and can be expected to return to more normal voting patterns this fall. There is growing disaffection with LBJ throughout the state. A recent poll of Palo Alto County, which has picked the winner in every Presidential race since the turn of the century, revealed that Johnson would lose in 1968.

Iowa Republicans are undoubtedly eager to push right to work as an issue because all six of the state's Democratic Congressmen in Washington voted to repeal Section 14b. (Five of them are freshmen who won by less than 55 per cent of the popular vote.) The only congressman from the Corn State to vote against repeal was the Gibralter-like H.R. Gross, who has commended the work of Iowans for Right to Work, stating:

"I agree that right to work could be one of the hottest issues of the campaign and I am convinced it is an issue we can use to our advantage. My mail from all sections of the state last year reflected overwhelming support for retention of Section 14b."

It seems most probable that right to work will stay in Iowa—but many of those Democrats in the state legislature and in Washington won't.

New Mexico is representative of the other major problem of the National Committee: It has no right-to-work law.

Most members of New Mexicans for Right to Work, Inc. are Democrats, reflecting the political make-up of the state. Ellis Whitney of Roswell, a Democrat, is state chairman. The goal is a state constitutional amendment, which must start in the state legislature.

In 1963, a right-to-work proposal was approved by the State Senate and then defeated by a narrow margin in the House of Representatives. As the state committee states, "No organized effort was made before the 1963 legislative session to mobilize public support for right to work. New Mexicans for Right to Work intend to correct that oversight."

In 1965, a right-to-work law was again presented to the State Senate but this time was defeated by a narrow margin of 18 to 14. The State committee was disappointed but not deterred.

In January 1967 another right-to-work resolution will be offered and with the new momentum generated by the victory in Washington may pass.

New Mexicans for Right to Work like to emphasize that the neighboring states of Texas and Arizona both have right-to-work laws and have profited and prospered under them.

Self-Help Principle

The energy and determination of state organizations like those in Iowa and New Mexico are the reasons for optimism about "Operation Grassroots," for the National Committee is fully aware that it cannot do for the state committees what they will not do for themselves. The success or failure of the state campaigns for right to work ultimately depends on them.

Meanwhile, back in Washington, D.C., the National Right to Work Committee goes about its many-faceted business, which includes the following short and long-range objectives:

• To stay alert for any surprise attack on Section 14b in this session of Congress. On May 23 of this year, President Johnson told a conference of labor union editors: "Sen. Dirksen eliminated 14b in the Senate—but I never committed myself to deliver Sen. Dirksen's vote. We will have to try again and try again we will."

• To press for changes in those federal laws which sanction compulsory unionism. One possibility (originally submitted by Sen. Barry Goldwater): a law establishing an open shop (right to work) in all 50 states *except* where the people on their initiative approve a union shop. This would reverse the present situation in which those in favor of an open shop must initiate action.

• To provide active support for existing state right-to-work laws.

• To start new right-to-work campaigns.

• To step up the pace of court cases—now more than 150 ready to go—protesting the use of a union member's dues for political purposes against his wishes.

• To push a test case on the 9th Amendment.

The last objective has been endorsed by Sen. Everett Dirksen, who in an article for the *DePauw University Law Review,* advanced the proposition that man's "right to work" is one of the inherent, unenumerated rights protected by the 9th Amendment. He suggested that the day will come when the Supreme Court will hold union shop agreements unconstitutional, not merely in the 19 "right-to-work" states but throughout the nation.

"Our best hope for outlawing compulsory unionism in America," the senator wrote, "must lie with our courts and their recognition of the constitution as a shield between the working man and the union officials who seek to force him to join a union or pay tribute to a union as the price of keeping his job."

Is this an idle hope? Not to the National Right to Work Committee, which is prepared to campaign as long as is necessary—10, 20, 30 years—to guarantee any worker anywhere in these United States the right to join or not to join a union, without any fear of losing his job regardless of what he decides.

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Has Unlimited Budget

New Comintern Plans 'War' on Many Fronts

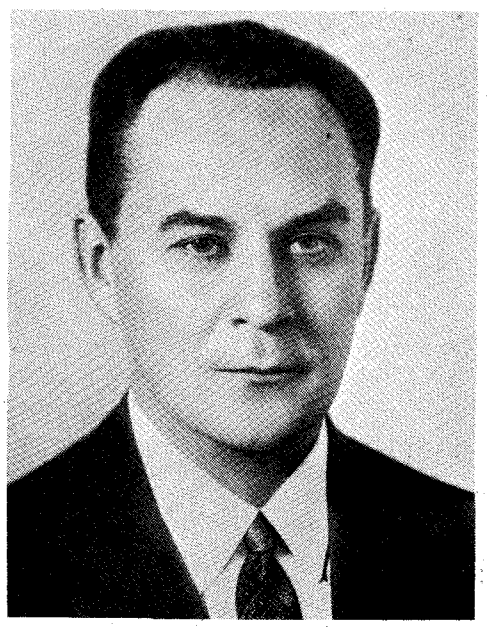
By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

The Communist International, whose death has been prematurely reported by well-meaning pundits since 1940, has been given a new lease of life—and an unlimited budget—by the master of the Kremlin.

Though the revitalized Comintern has yet to be given any kind of public designation, it is operating with full staff in Moscow as part of the KGB, the Soviet secret police—with an assist from GRU, the Red intelligence apparatus. Operations for the Western Hemisphere are under a full colonel of the KGB, using the name Alexeyev, whose headquarters are in Havana.

On a political level, the Comintern is forging united fronts of Soviet Communist, unaffiliated Marxist-Leninist, nationalist and New Left parties. These coalitions are putting aside all pretense of legality by advocating the violent overthrow of their host countries.

From Havana, the loosely run effort to launch guerrilla warfare in Latin America has been tightened up and subjected to military discipline. Guerrilla warfare will no longer be handled on a country-by-country basis. Instead, it will be coordinated so as to keep the United States off balance.



The powerful Alexander Shelepin is overseeing the Kremlin's sabateur-training program.

The Moscow headquarters has stepped up its recruiting campaign in order to "develop" saboteurs, espionage agents and trained rioters in the underdeveloped nations. The plan then is to infiltrate "graduates" of the Kremlin's training school into the United States where they can pose as members of persecuted minorities. The thrust of the propaganda attack inspired by the *apparatchiks* will, of course, be anti-American. In addition, any opportunity to hurt or discredit the NATO alliance will be pushed to the utmost.

In addition, Department D of the KGB's foreign directorate has selected targets in the United States and other Western nations—the men who are to be discredited at all costs and by whatever means. In charge of this work, according to information gathered by the FBI and other U. S. intelligence agencies, is Gen. Sakharovsky.

The importance of the Sakharovsky operation can be gauged by the fact that it is under the personal supervision of Alexander Shelepin, one of the most powerful members of the Soviet Presidium and a possible future Stalin-type dictator.

Shelepin is known to believe that if the West can be embroiled in enough political and racial turmoil, it will be unable to keep its eye on the Kremlin. He has also argued that this will give the Kremlin the opportunity to discard its propaganda line of "peaceful coexistence" and return to the offensive which almost carried it to the Atlantic in the post-World War II era. He sees as more than a dream an America so divided that it will lack the will and the means to oppose Soviet expansionism.

Like many "hard" Communists, he is convinced that under no provocation will the United States use the bomb or even launch a major war against the Soviet bloc. He has therefore called for a return to Stalin's tough line, to adventurism in West Berlin and to the opening of a military front disguised as a nationalist uprising, in Africa.

The aim of the new Comintern is not to draw in large numbers of people. The Communist coalitions may make a play for the masses, but they are to be window dressing. Instead, small, mobile and highly trained paramilitary units—skilled at fomenting riot and disorder, conducting sabotage operations, and directing espionage—are the goal. That some units of this kind already exist in the United States has been known to counter-intelligence and security agencies since 1946.

One prediction can be made. As the new Comintern moves into gear, it will inspire a chorus of pundits and fuzzy thinkers to argue passionately that it doesn't exist.

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Arthur Larson Is Busy Again

By JESSE HELMS, WRAL-TV Commentator, Raleigh, N.C.

Back during the 1964 Presidential campaign, when Barry Goldwater sought in vain to persuade the American people to give some thought to the kind of country they wanted, there was one particular little group—to which we shall address ourselves in a moment—that worked itself into a lather about what it called Mr. Goldwater's "extremism".

Mr. Goldwater, if you will remember, had warned that we had better stop pussyfooting in Viet Nam; otherwise, he said, many an American boy would die as a result of our trying to appease the Communists there and elsewhere. Mr. Goldwater warned about an avalanche of federal controls that were about to tumble down upon our schools. He forecast that unless the people elected a government that would deal firmly with civil disobedience, we could expect riots and insurrection in our streets at home. He talked of the prospect of economic chaos if the people did not demand a return to sanity in federal spending.

Noting all of this, there was formed, as we say, an organization to hit Mr. Goldwater—seemingly below the belt, whenever possible—and to portray him to the American people as an "extremist." This little group curiously chose to call itself "The National Council for Civic Responsibility." Its head man was a North Carolinian of sorts, Dr. Arthur Larson of Duke University, whose regular occupation—according to his biographical sketches—is that of director of the World Rule of Law Center at Duke University.

Dr. Larson's so-called "Council for Civic Responsibility", as it turned out, amounted to little or nothing. It produced no fire, little smoke, and only an occasional puff of hot air. Larson made many splendid pronouncements, from time to time, about how the "council" was a permanent organization which would forever dedicate itself to fighting what he called "extremism". He declared, among other things, that it was a "non-partisan" outfit, a somewhat irresponsible declaration in the light of later disclosures that the Democratic National Committee had provided the lion's share of the funds spent by the Larson outfit.

The liberal press, all the while, trumpeted every syllable that fell from Larson's lips. Sometimes it seemed that there was a new oracle from Sinai. His photograph constantly graced the front pages, and his movements were faithfully chronicled by an adoring press. On one occasion he held a pre-election rally in Raleigh, in the State Highway Building auditorium, at which the public was supposed to hear him extol the virtues of Lyndon Johnson. Less than 75 people, including reporters, were on hand to hear him.

This week, however, the press carefully chose to ignore what we regard as a rather significant new effort on Dr. Larson's part. He is in Switzerland, where he is presiding, as president, over a meeting of another curious outfit—this one called the "World Conference on Church and Society". Needless to say, this "conference" is sponsored by the World Council of Churches.

And what is going on at this meeting, being presided over by Arthur Larson, this man who talked so much in 1964 about "responsibility?" Well, let the Associated Press tell the story:

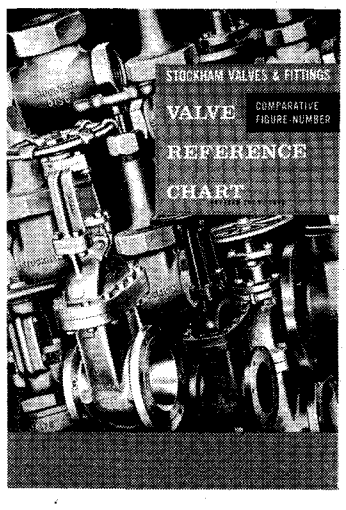
In an item datelined Geneva, Switzerland, the Associated Press reported: "Lavish praise of atheism, (for) Communist China, and open support for Christian violence to achieve social change, were just (a few) of the shock features in this first week of the controversial World Conference on Church and Society." The Associated Press said that officials of the conference "are pleased with the revolutionary remarks made during the conference."

Dr. Larson headed the anti-Goldwater "National Council for Civic Responsibility" in 1964.

We would repeat, for the purpose of emphasis, that Dr. Arthur Larson of Duke University is head of this organization, and that he is the same fellow who received so much publicity in 1964 as head of a self-styled "National Council for Civic Responsibility."

Each new disclosure about Arthur Larson serves to cause one to wonder what he means when he talks of "responsibility". In any case, it seems more and more a tribute to Barry Goldwater that in 1964, Larson attacked Mr. Goldwater behind the shield of a phony organization. In 1964, Dr. Larson's crowd *opposed* the principles of Barry Goldwater. In 1966, the crowd around Dr. Larson lavishly *praises* atheism, communist China, and violence in the streets.

Civic responsibility—or civic irresponsibility? Take your pick!



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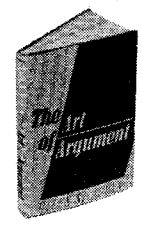

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JOE JONES (RIGHT) AND SON AT THE ICC

Joe Jones, an Atlanta truckdriver, last year borrowed $25,000 from the Small Business Administration to expand his small trucking operation into a long-haul business. However, seven consecutive times the Interstate Commerce Commission has ruled that Jones, a World War II veteran with 50 per cent disability, cannot receive a permit to engage in interstate commerce because 27 other trucking companies claim they can supply all the services needed. Jones, a father of 10 children, drove his truck from Atlanta to Washington, D.C. and parked it in front of the ICC building in protest. Said Jones, "This is very heartbreaking to me. I didn't know the government could treat Americans this way. It's just killed everthing within me. . . ." It seems ICC has not got the word about LBJ's "War on Poverty" or the Administration's program to help small businessmen.

U.S. Heading for Same Crisis Now Confronting Great Britain

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

There is an ominous similarity between the economic crisis now confronting Great Britain and conditions existing in the United States.

There is still time for the United States to change its economic course to avoid the shoals on which the British system is now floundering but unless corrective steps are taken, and soon, the United States will find itself in a similar predicament in another year or two.

The same economic factors which have brought Great Britain to the very doorstep of national bankruptcy and theatened the value of the pound are operating in the U.S. today.

• Foreign spending is draining off the U.S. gold supply and producing an unfavorable trade balance the same as that which besets Great Britain. The U.S. problem in this area already is more acute than Britain's because of our continued foreign aid expenditures, military spending in Europe and Asia and high prices for U.S. products which cannot compete with foreign imports.

• Inflation is shrinking the U.S. dollar at a greater rate than the pound is being devalued.

• Continued government deficit spending is accelerating the inflationary process. The Johnson administration and Congress must share the responsibility for this condition, the Administration because it refuses to ease off on its "Great Society" spending projects in the face of added Viet Nam war costs and Congress because instead of cutting the presidential budget, is adding to it by traditional "pork barrel" tactics.

While Prime Minister Harold Wilson probably deserves a certain amount of censure for not acting sooner, it must be said that he made a courageous political decision when it was no longer possible to postpone dealing with the situation.

His crackdown on domestic and foreign spending was ruthless and complete as he moved to save the pound from threatened devaluation.

His crushing crisis budget, largest since World War II, will take an estimated 500 million pounds—$1.4 billion—from an economy severely damaged by the seven week maritime strike, low productivity and full employment.

If approved by the House of Commons (and it hardly has a choice in the matter), the cutbacks will hit every British taxpayer; down payments for credit buying will be increased and repayment time severely reduced.

More important, there will be a halt to nonessential government projects (LBJ please notice), and a cutback in defense expenditures.

Britain's unions, as might be expected, are threatening open revolt against the six months wage freeze Wilson is demanding and here too, there is a parallel between the United States and Britain. In the United States, unions have completely disregarded Administration wage guidelines to send labor costs skyrocketing to an all-time high.

It remains to be seen whether U.S. leadership will profit from Britain's experience. If it doesn't, it will be ignoring the handwriting on the wall.

□ □ □

REMEMBER WHEN you bought $5 worth of groceries and had to hold the bag from the bottom?

Orville Freeman Over a Barrel

Unpopular with consumers and farmers, the secretary tries snow job on both

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has managed to drape himself over a barrel in a "confidential" briefing of Democratic congressional candidates on the subjects of inflation, food costs, and the political mood of the nation's farmers. A *Tribune* reporter who wandered into the supposedly closed session heard Mr. Freeman unload the following observations:

• "There is a reaction far deeper and more bitter than I could ever have anticipated" among farmers.

• To a candidate who asked how to handle questions about the increased cost of living: "I've been trying to figure out an answer to that question for six years. Slip, slide, and duck any questions on higher consumer prices if you possibly can."

• "Don't get caught in a debate over higher prices between housewives and farmers. If you do, and have to choose a side, take the farmers' side. It's the right side, and, besides, housewives aren't nearly as well organized."

• On the contention of the Administration that the percentage of each pay check that now goes for food is lower than in 1960: "You could tell them [the housewives] that, but we know they wouldn't buy it."

The Minnesota Machiavelli therewith wrapped up as deceitful a body of political philosophy as has ever been produced by any exponent of the "Great Society," which covers a lot of ground. This Administration has distinguished itself by its predilection for "managing the news," but Mr. Freeman is in a class by himself.

What he told the Democratic candidates for confidential consumption is something quite different from what the Administration chooses to tell the people publicly.

The Administration has engaged in the window dressing of establishing a "consumer counselor" in the person of Mrs. Esther Peterson in the labor department. This is intended to evidence its huge concern for the consumer, who is usually depicted as a nitwit who can't read the label on a package.

Another of the Administration's Potemkin villages calls for enactment of "truth-in-packaging" legislation. The consumer is supposed to be befuddled by the large range of packages on the store shelves, so that, as one proponent of the legislation contends, he is unable to buy knowledgeably and stay within the family budget.

Freeman advises candidates to duck questions on higher food prices.

But the fact is that it is Democratic fiscal policy that promotes inflation and drives up prices to new records with each succeeding month.

As Mr. Freeman made clear, it is a subject from which the Administration prefers to steer away, because there is no sensible political answer to it. So the party's candidates are advised to "slip, slide, and duck."

Secretary Freeman on a field trip around the middle west learned of widespread discontent among farmers. They resented President Johnson's statement that high farm prices were partly to blame for the increased cost of living, and they were not mollified when Freeman followed up with the statement that he was "pleased to report" that some farm prices were down.

Mr. Freeman has maneuvered himself into an unenviable position. He is no more popular with the farmers than the Administration is with the consumers. The only out for both is to try to do a snow job on the people.

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The King Who Can Do No Wrong

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The dog days used to bring a seasonable drop in a commentator's mail; friends and foes alike gave up throwing garlands or brickbats at the columnist in favor of sipping a long, cool drink.

But that was before the advent of Dr. Martin Luther King, that nonshrinking violet who makes headlines all year long but seems to come into full bloom during the summer. Any reference to his activities appreciably lessens the postal deficit and makes the mailman suspect your friends are sending Christmas greetings unusually early.

Not all of the letters, however, are in the Yuletide spirit. *Au contraire.* Some accuse me of being both anti-Negro and anti-religious for not taking the reverend at his declared face value, which I deem highly inflated. And, almost invariably, the dissenters wind up with what they regard as the clincher, "Who are you to criticize a Nobel Peace Prize winner?"

Well, it so happens that I was considering neither Dr. King's skin nor his Baptist religion when I criticized his tactics. After all, I have shot my arrows at the all-white Ku Klux Klan, the Chinese Mao Tse-tung, the Indian Krishna Menon and the Indonesian Sukarno; not to mention Bobby Kennedy, various rabbis and Protestant ministers who used their pulpits for political pronouncements, and atheists who claimed their rights were trampled on by any reference to God.

I do not think the bestowal of an award—any award—confers the mantle of infallibility on the recipient and renders him immune from discussion of his public conduct. The Nobel Peace Prize, the Stalin Peace Prize and even the coveted Hollywood Oscar represent the judgments of human beings, who are, alas, fallible. And here I reserve the right to disagree.

When Linus Pauling receives a Nobel prize for his significant contributions to our understanding of protein structure, I am fully prepared to cheer for this tribute to his scientific achievement, acknowledged by a group of experts in the field.

But when he gets the Nobel Peace Prize, I have a right to say, "What's going on here?" When Teddy Roosevelt won that same prize in 1905, there was irrefutable evidence to justify it—his negotiations in ending the Russo-Japanese War. But what did Pauling ever do? If the award is to be given for just saying war is bad, pass it around to all of us.

I felt the same way when Dr. King won his prize. Indeed, I wondered out loud if the choice hadn't been engineered by Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist who, outside of the Supreme Court, is known to Americans mainly for endorsing the policies—if that's what they are—of SANE.

That comment brought immediate reaction from a reader of Swedish origin. Somewhat acidulously, she informed me that, though the Nobel awards in physics, chemistry, medicine and literature are made by Swedish committees, the peace prize is under the jurisdiction of the Storting—the legislative body of Norway.

I usually take an acute riposte with bad grace—nobody likes his ignorance exposed—but this one left no scar tissue on my psyche. Indeed, I immediately called my daughter in New York to pass the glad tidings on. You see, she is married to a fellow born in Sweden, and I didn't want her ridden by a guilt-complex.

Now I don't ask the Storting to revoke King's award—I don't know what he'd do without it, for he manages to drag it in on every interview—but I wish the Norweigan lads would watch what's been happening here and try to be a little more careful in the future.

After all, we did have a "Typhoid Mary" case some decades ago. The lady was doubtless pure of heart as Dr. King is, but she wrought havoc wherever she went. A cook, she was a carrier of typhoid, and, though herself immune, she brought the dread disease to all she came in contact with. Finally, the authorities caught up with her and forbade her from following her chosen profession.

And however noble Dr. King's intentions, it is a sad fact that whenever he goes on a non-violent mission, violent rioting and bloodshed inevitably follow: the record is clear from Selma to now in Chicago.

Maybe the Department of Health, Education and Welfare ought to look into the case and see the good doctor isn't allowed to cook up anything more for us. Enough is enough.

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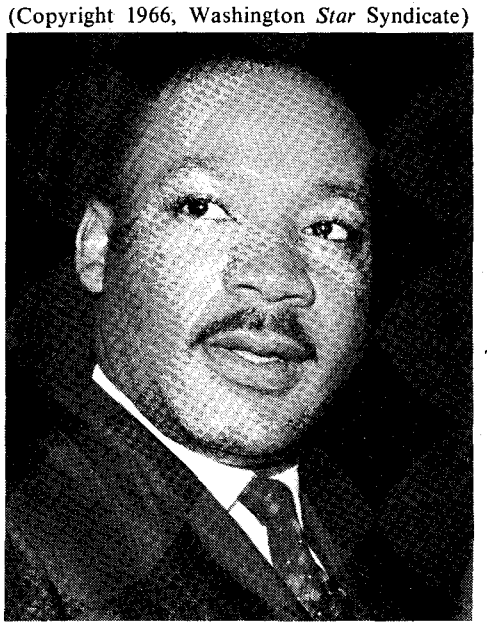

It's a sad fact, but wherever Martin Luther King goes, violence seems to follow.

Promises vs. Performance

Something for Nothing? Don't You Believe It

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

While signing still another billion-dollar spending bill President Johnson recently stated: "I hope that Congress, which has already done so much for so many, will do just a little more." Then he enumerated "some of the many things" he and Congress are giving us.

Don't thank Mr. Johnson. Don't thank the politicians. He and Congress have not, do not and never will give the American people a single one of these things. Thank productive America.

All Presidents through World War II taxed the people $248 billion. This included two World Wars. The New Frontier-"Great Society" has taxed us about $500 billion. In only five and a half years this is more than twice as much as all administrations have taxed us in 156 years. And Washington still cannot pay its bills.

Something for nothing?

Although tax receipts have grown $25 billion in the New Frontier-"Great Society" period the last and fleeting balanced budget was in 1960, previous to it. Since then the New Frontier-"Great Society's" smallest deficit has been $3.4 billion.

You pay every penny.

Washington is never a source of wealth. The government is a spender, never an earner. Anything the President and Congress say they give to the people they must first take away from the people. Only the people produce the wealth and during the 40 hours you work each week—if you're the worker—you turn over the proceeds of nearly 1½ days' work to Washington.

The politicians, however, can produce the waste.

On December 1 last year LBJ set a headline-making order from the Pedernales River directing departments to eliminate 25,000 jobs by June 30. The Joint Committee on Nonessential Federal Expenditures now reports that the employment went up 32,595 by that date, not down. But who would know it?

The "Great Society" has added 185,758 federal employes to the public payroll in the past 12 months—an extra employe about every 40 seconds. Their salaries cost the taxpayers an added $1 billion annually.

On April 1 LBJ announced he was asking the Cabinet to "squeeze" at least $1 billion out of the spending by June 30. On June 30 the administrative outlays had gone up, not down. There is no connection between what we hear and what happens.

You pay every penny.

Meanwhile, also in June, LBJ asked Congress to lift the legal debt limit to $330 billion—$47 billion more than the debt the New Frontier-"Great Society" inherited.

Something for nothing?

We pay $996 million a month in taxes just to pay the interest on the money Washington has already borrowed. This alone takes all the federal income taxes of everybody earning $6,000 a year or less. In fact, the borrowings are the second largest cost in the "Great Society" budget.

There is no connection between what politicians say and what happens. It all means inflation, and we pay a second time all over again. Last year we paid $4 billion more for our food than ever before. In fact, the way prices are going up it won't be long before those $100-a-plate dinners sound reasonable.

It's a shell game in which the politicians resort to their usual practice of rigging it. When they tell us they're giving us something they're switching the pea in their regular way.

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Great Society—GOP Style

From the Indianapolis *Star*

Barry Goldwater once said that he would be happy to run for President on the 1932 *Democratic* platform.

Well, he and a vast number of other Republicans are certainly not going to like what is being prepared for the GOP as a platform for the 1968 elections. The GOP National Committee has just issued a paper on transportation policy that goes the Two Deals, one Frontier and our late, "Great Society" one better.

Here is what it proposes:

1. A federal investigation program to determine causes of accidents.

2. A federal driver training program and federal driver's license standards.

3. Federal safety standards for cars and a nationwide system of auto inspection.

4. A new "Department of Transportation" to develop a "government-wide transportation policy."

5. Federal aid for construction of streets and highways in cities and suburbs.

6. Subsidies for transportation services like commuter trains "which cannot operate at a profit."

"What this paper suggests is that we make the 'Great Society' greater. It suggests that Republicans support the creation of a huge new bureaucracy to regulate the automobile as well as railway and air transport systems from Washington. While lip service is given to co-operation with the states, what is planned here is the elimination of the states in the field of transportation policy.

This would be one more huge step toward the creation of almost total power over a major segment of our economy by the federal bureaucracy. It would be a blatant violation of the principle stated by Lincoln that government should do for the people only what they cannot do for themselves.

The 1932 Democratic platform, bless it, demanded a reduction of federal expenses by 25 per cent, a balanced federal budget and "the removal of government from all fields of private enterprise except where necessary to develop public works and national resources in the common interest."

The GOP National Committee would do the exact opposite. It would add departments, new powers, new bureaucrats and new rules and regulations to the already huge and inefficient federal system.

It looks to us as though the Republicans should start taking their lesson from the Pre-Deal Democrats instead of trying to expand the "Great Society" into a Behemoth government rivaling that of the Soviet Union.

Democrat Al Smith once said to his fellow Democrats "dig up the 1932 platform . . . breathe life into it. . . make good your promises to the American people."

Another famous Democrat said, "The history of liberty is a history of resistance. The history of liberty is a history of limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it." That was Woodrow Wilson.

And here is another piece of advice. If Republicans don't give the people a choice between the "Great Society" gobble of power and a Free Society based on the Constitution, they won't deserve to win any elections.

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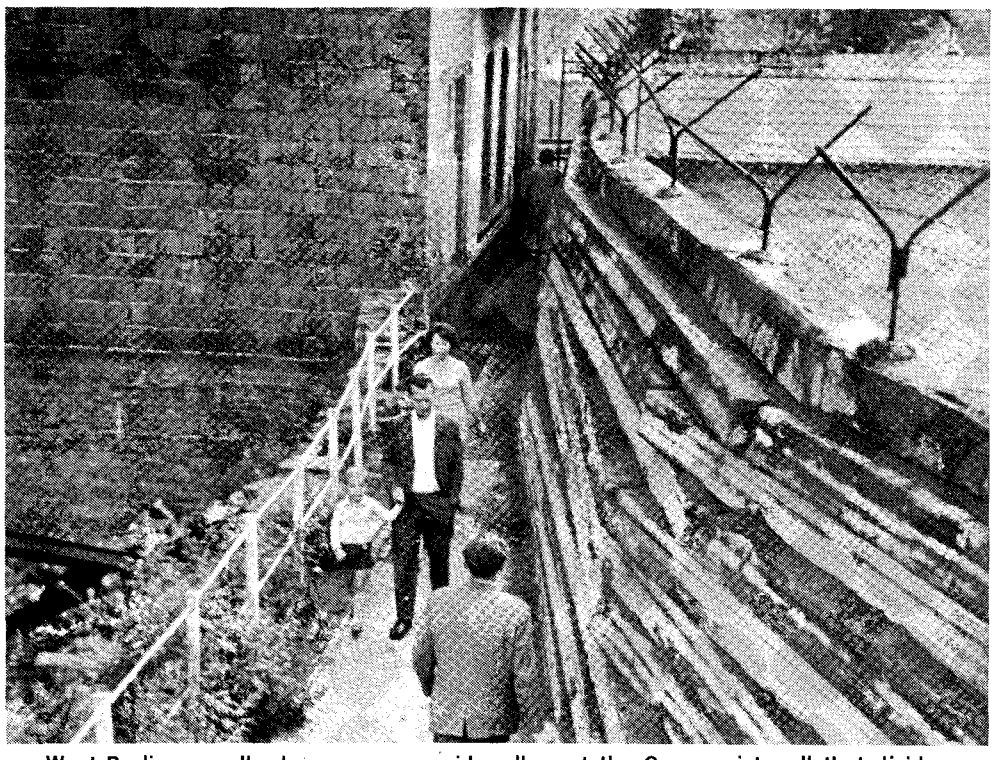

West Berliners walk along a narrow sidewalk past the Communist wall that divides the city. The Wall will be five years old on August 13.

New Sections Added

Berlin Wall Remains Symbol

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Throughout the summer there have been reports of new, permanent sections being added to formerly flimsy areas of the Berlin Wall. The construction is a concrete reminder of a grim fact many American commentators try to make us forget—that the Communist East so many say is mellowing remains a slave empire.

The simple test of your attitude toward communism and so-called co-existence is the same one Abraham Lincoln imposed for Americans when he suggested that the Union could not exist half slave and half free.

Today's global question is how long a stable world can exist half slave and half free. Under Nazi tyranny in Hitler's Reich the world slowly realized it could not forever co-exist with a system based upon violence, subversion and slavery. Had the world realized this and acted sooner by starving the tiger from the Hitlerian tyranny, by quarantining its virus, by letting it collapse in its own weight of horror and bureaucracy, World War II might have been averted and Hitler pulled down without holocaust.

It is ironic, therefore, that the latest stones being piled up on the West are also in Germany—but this time by the Communists.

Think for a moment why the Berlin Wall has been built.

It is certainly not to keep people from the free world outside the worker's paradise. Look where you will around the entire world, and there are not enough people wanting to get into a Communist land, any Communist land, to fill a small bus. But there are countless prisoners of the Communists who want desperately to get out.

During the Presidential campaign I repeatedly urged that this nation stipulate the destruction of the Berlin Wall as a condition of any major negotiations with the Soviet Union.

The Administration instead took the attitude that this would unduly aggravate our relations with the Soviets. By substituting patience we would simply give them time to mellow, and in some sweet time the wall would come down anyway.

This policy has simply encouraged communism to build a stronger wall. More time in these East-West relations will give the Communists time to build more walls—and guns, too.

The same lesson may be applied to all recent top-level meetings in Moscow where, despite our pious hope that coddling communism in the Soviet Union would swing them to our side in Viet Nam, Communist leaders have made it clear that getting our troops out of Viet Nam is a condition they are setting for any future bettering of political relations.

It is time free men set some conditions of their own rather than forever listening and responding only to communism's conditions. There are many conditions: cessation of subversion from Cuba, cessation of arms shipments, possibly even new missiles, to Cuba, cessation of aid to the Viet Cong and so, on and on.

But for sheer symbolism, the smashing of the Berlin Wall should be given high priority.

President Johnson publicly may ignore this newly reinforced wall. If so, he ignores one of the gravest responsibilities of his office.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

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SO WHO ELECTED HIM?—A poll conducted for the Republican National Committee by the highly respected Opinion Research Corp. of Princeton, N.J., indicates major gains by the GOP in November. In less than a year the percentage of Americans who believe LBJ is doing a good job has slumped from 58 to 32 per cent, according to the survey. The poll, not yet published, indicates LBJ has an unfavorable rating from 45 per cent of the liberals, 60 per cent of the moderates and 78 per cent of the conservatives.

□ □ □

SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.) is making the high cost of government a central issue in his campaign for reelection. From January 1965 to January 1966 some 91,000 workers were added to the federal payroll, Tower says. "That's nearly $22 billion a year which taxpayers must provide. Our national debt now stands at $324 billion as the government continues its policy of 'going now and paying later.' That debt penalizes Americans—every minute—$22,000 in interest costs."

BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

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THE MOST OF MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE (Simon and Schuster, 367 pages, $5.95).

For over 40 years the urbane and witty British iconolast and social critic, Malcolm Muggeridge, has treated the English-speaking world to his outrageously unconventional views on every subject imaginable. As Moscow correspondent for the **Manchester Guardian** in the 1930s, disillusionment with the "glories" of the proliterian revolution set in on him, partly because he was honest enough to overcome his sympathetic disposition toward it when he witnessed "the almost inconceivable brutality and dishonesty of the regime." Ever since, as a writer for Lord Beaverbrook's **Statesman**, and later as editor of **Punch**, he has waged war on Liberalism and, with color and precision has dramatized the pretentiousness of a declining age.

This book collects pieces selected by Muggeridge himself as those which pleased him most. His musings range from pungent views on British monarchy to wry commentaries on American women, Fabian socialism, pornography and Shakespeare. In a scintillating essay entitled "The Loved One" he fully displays his enormous wit in dealing with the eruption of "syrupy insincerity" that followed President Kennedy's assassination. Schlesinger, Sorenson and the whole retinue of purveyors of "graveside or memorial prose" wither under his assault.

Here is a book that rings with humor, stings with sarcasm and is a model of literary finesse. It is certain to delight those who have been captivated by Muggeridge's writing in **Esquire** and other American periodicals.

URBAN RENEWAL, THE RECORD AND THE CONTROVERSY, edited by James Q. Wilson (The M.I.T. Press, 672 pages, $10).

Twenty-six scholars have contributed articles to this collection. The editor truthfully claims the book "makes no arguments and pleads no causes; its sole purpose is to provide a ready source in which the reader can find the best materials on the history of the program; its theory and practice; the legal, political, social, economic and design issues involved; and both sides of the controversy involved. . . ." Included is a brilliant essay by Dr. Martin Anderson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, summarizing the critical agruments earlier propounded in his book **The Federal Bulldozer.** Containing a wealth of material, pro and con, this book is a valuable reference source for those striving to demolish the Urban Renewal myth in their own communities.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE by Donald Marquand Dozer (Alfred A. Knopf, 208 pages, $3.95).

President Monroe promulgated his Doctrine in 1823 and it survived as a cogent instrument of American foreign policy until, under President Kennedy, it became a hollow relic, symbolic of yesterday's determination to keep this hemisphere free of European dominion. This anthology has been compiled by Dr. Dozer, professor of history at the University of California.

It analyzes the major interpretations of the Doctrine and concludes that it "remains a political instrument to be resorted to, when necessary, unilaterally by the United States." This appears to be the basis for dispatching United States Marines to abort a Communist takeover of the Dominican Republic, although anti-Communists in Latin America and elsewhere are entitled to consider it sterile, or at least dormant, until it has been invoked to restore freedom and independence to Cuba.

CALLED TO BE FREE by Angus MacDonald (Chas. Hallberg and Co., 110 W. Grand Ave., Chicago, Ill., 126 pages $2.95. Order directly from the publisher.)

This is a collection of sermons by the Australian-born minister of the First Congregational Church of Hutchison, Kan. Russell Kirk writes, "in a time when the churches are much afflicted by fed and foible, it is heartening to turn to the Christian scholarship and eloquence of Angus MacDonald . . . like T. S. Eliot, he does not labor under the illusion that God is dead." Divided into three sections, he book includes Sermons of Devotional and Intellectual Inquiry, Biographical Sermons (including a stirring eulogy of Winston Churchill) and Sermons of Social Inquiry.

Mao's Thought

From the Dallas *Morning News*

Copies of the *Peking Review* for recent weeks have reached our desk. Americans accustomed to the daily variety of uncolored news provided by newspapers, magazines, radio and television find it unbelievable that any propagandist could dish out such an unvaried, unpalatable diet of sameness as that in this Chinese Communist publication.

Here are the front-page headlines for five consecutive issues:

• "Mao Tse-tung's Thought—Beacon of Revolution for the World's People." —June 3.

• "New Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thought."—June 10.

• "Put Mao Tse-tung's Thought in the Forefront."—June 17.

• "Chairman Mao Has Elevated Marxism-Leninism to a Completely New Stage With Great Talent."—June 24.

• "Long Live Mao Tse - tung's Thought."—July 1.

Think not that this theme is limited to the lead articles, "In Praise of Mao Tse-tung's Thought" is a regular column carrying fulsome praise of you-know-who's brain waves from other great thinkers. Among them you are sure to recognize such names as Floreal Carballo, "well-known Argentine ophthalmologist," Ali Mdahoma Mlinda of Zanzibar, Loumbouele-Bouta, general secretary of the Lumumbist National Youth of the Congo, and Maiso Mizuhara, director-general of the Japanese Philatelic Association.

We can recall some other fellows who specialized in this bit about one man doing the thinking for everyone else. We can remember, too, that the propaganda didn't live as long as those thinkers expected. Remember the Third Reich, destined to live a thousand years? How long will Mao Tse-tung's thoughts outlast Hitler's?

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Behind the Riots

How Urban Renewal Created a Slum in Cleveland

By ROSS HERMANN in the Indianapolis *News*

After four days of uninterrupted disorder three weeks ago in Cleveland, Ohio, the word "Hough" is well on its way to becoming a familiar part of the modern vernacular.

By the time National Guardsmen called out by Ohio Gov. James Rhodes had restored a semblance of order, four people had been killed, 46 injured, and property destroyed that will total in the millions in Cleveland's eastside Hough neighborhood. When all the assessments are in, Hough may stand along side last year's outbreak in Watts, Calif., in the extent of disruption of the social fabric.

From the news reports one might gather that the Hough neighborhood is another of those areas like New York's Harlem or Chicago's Southside where a generation or more of intense liberal concern has scarcely made a dent. But it has not always been there. It is something new in slums.

The Hough slum, one of the nation's worst, is of recent origin. It is a product of the city's federally financed and directed program of "urban renewal" and redevelopment.

The federal redevelopment program in Cleveland held out the vision of ending slums and then, after 16 years of operation, left the city's low-income groups worse off than when they came in contact with it.

As recently as 1957, the area bordering Hough Avenue was an old but respectable neighborhood, fully integrated, for which city officials predicted a bright future. That year the city initiated an intensive program of building code enforcement and the area's prospects began to look better and better.

A battery of building inspectors uncovered 600 code violations—a mere handful compared to what they would find today—and most were corrected in short order.

The results of the code enforcement drive were so encouraging that building commissioner William T. Guion and law director—now mayor—Ralph Locher told the Cleveland *Press*, June 22, 1957: "The Hough neighborhood can be kept from becoming a slum." It proves, said Locher, "where you put the inspectors in force, you get results."

But that was before the city felt the full impact of federal urban renewal. By 1962, the influx of families displaced by clearance projects in other parts of the city had completely reversed the improvement trend. The bulk of the approximately 4,000 families shoved aside by federal projects crowded into the Hough area, the only place they could find moderately priced housing. The density of occupancy became so great that neighborhood values collapsed.

City officials no longer sent building inspectors to Hough "in force." Cleveland *Press* writer Paul Lilley, taking note of spotty enforcement, predicted in 1962: "The city, by inaction, may help to create the urban renewal areas of the future."

The result of federal dislodgement of large numbers of people and the city's failure to keep them from overcrowding Hough is a slum of monumental proportions. A combined city-federal effort to end slums "in our time" has succeeded in concentrating them into a single, huge ghetto, where crime, delinquency, illegitimacy, and welfare costs are setting new records.

Rep. A. Sidney Herlong (D.-Fla.), in a little noticed speech in 1964, pinpointed approaching trouble in the Hough neighborhood. "What happens," he asked prophetically, "to those inhabitants of the Hough area when they finally become convinced that the government to which they have been told to look for help is actually not working for them but is operating against their interests? How do they express their resentment?

"Will they at that point turn back to themselves and rely on their own resources which they have been told are not enough to provide the answers, or will they take to the streets in other and even more serious demonstrations?"

The solution he suggested may not be too late even now, "I am saying," said Herlong, "that federal pie-in-the-sky proposals must be eliminated, promises which cannot be kept must be stopped, and local down-to-earth programs of self-help must be instituted."

Negroes mill around a portion of the Hough section of Cleveland where rioting and looting had occurred the previous night.

Showing Man From Missouri

From the Richmond *News Leader*

In the past two years, the many blunders committed by the large, high-salaried staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington have caused some observers to note that, in the "War on Poverty," never have so many done so little for so few.

The OEO tried to reverse that observation recently when it announced a $43,500 anti-poverty grant for a four-county community action program in Missouri. According to the OEO, approximately 120,000 poor persons inhabit a 240-square-mile area in the four counties. The congressman who represented the four counties was somewhat puzzled: He added up the population of the area described in OEO's release and found that a total of only 105,000 persons lived in the four counties.

He then professed some confusion as to whether OEO was providing anti-poverty funds for 15,000 persons yet unborn, as well as for the many persons above the poverty level included in the total 105,000 population.

No indeed, said OEO. A mistake had been made. The area contained only about 80,000 persons eligible for participation in the anti-poverty program. More than 75 per cent of the total population? the congressman asked in disbelief. Well, said OEO, would you believe 19,000 persons?

This snafu, in addition to several others caused by OEO in Missouri, has prompted Democratic Congressman William L. Hungate of the state's Ninth District to reverse his former position in support of the "War on Poverty," and to announce his intention to vote against the program when it comes up later this summer. Missouri is known as the "Show Me" State; Mr. Hungate has been shown.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

The Real Deficit

By SEN. JOHN J. WILLIAMS (R.-Del.)

[On July 20] the Administration reported that last year's deficit had been brought down to $2.3 billion. No doubt this will be hailed in financial circles as evidence that we are making great progress in Congress and the executive branch toward balancing the budget and that now there will be no need for a tax increase to finance the "Great Society's" programs. But this is not the true picture. . . . There was $7.9 billion taken in during fiscal year 1966 in non-recurring income. . . . If we take the $7.9 billion of non-recurring income and add it to the $2.3 billion deficit which was reported [on July 20] we have an expenditure in fiscal year 1966 of $10.2 billion more than was taken in. . . . This is the true picture if we follow the same methods of bookkeeping we always have followed heretofore. . . . Let us report this deficit in its true form.

Housing Crisis

By REP. CLARENCE BROWN JR. (R.-Ohio)

The major crisis in the U.S. homebuilding and homebuying industry brought on by the inflationary fiscal policies of the Administration, is causing concern among Republicans in Congress, who are calling for a "crash" program to alleviate the situation before Congress adjourns. Building permit requests in June were the lowest on record. Interest rates are the highest in more than 40 years, with the result that lending funds have been drawn away from this industry and a crisis has been created affecting millions of Americans. To date, the Administration has offered no real remedy to help the situation, except for a tentative "finger-in-the-dike" approach opposed by many financial institutions to place an interest rate ceiling over time deposits in banks and savings and loans. Republicans are urging, instead, that (1) the Administration slash non-defense, non-essential domestic spending; (2) reduce point discounts on FHA and VA home financing; (3) suspend any further issues of Federal National Mortgage Association participation sales other than for VA and FHA pooled housing mortgages; (4) enact a Republican proposal to grant FNMA additional borrowing authority in a prudent and legal manner; (5) remove FNMA's $15,000 administrative limitation on mortgage purchases; (6) appoint an emergency Presidential fact-finding committee to report its findings in time for congressional consideration prior to adjournment.

Hollow Slogan

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

New York City is the most debt-ridden municipality in this country. Upon the backs of every man, woman and child is loaded a municipal debt alone of around $450 or a total of at least $3 billion. Now comes Mayor Lindsay with what he calls a program of "creative federalism." Stripped of its high-sounding fragrance, this would simply mean more federal tax dollars shipped into New York City to cover up the mismanagement and corruption of past machine-dominated city administrations. What New York City and the entire nation need is not "creative federalism" but the courage and decency to stop the mismanagement and worse that is taking this country and its subdivisions of government down the road to financial and moral bankruptcy.

Helping Hand?

By SEN. ALLEN ELLENDER (D.-La.)

I believe that we have a right to expect the leaders of foreign countries to do as much for their own people as they expect us to do for them. Let me point out a few examples. The government of Ghana has spent millions of dollars on the establishment and operation of Ghanian Airlines, which is equipped with the latest commercial jet transports. The government of Egypt has spent millions of dollars in military forays into the nearby country of Yemen in an aggressive war. The Indians and the Pakistanians have also spent millions of dollars in a war with each other. The Indonesians have just about gone over the brink of bankruptcy by spending their resources on a war with Malaysia and the construction of sport palaces and other vain projects which they cannot afford. I am well aware that we cannot prevent men from behaving foolishly if they wish to do so. However, we are not doing the hungry people of the world any service by assisting their leaders in foolish undertakings. As long as we provide the food for the inhabitants of these undeveloped countries, we are prolonging the time when they must act in their own behalf and in their own interest by developing an agriculture sufficient to feed themselves.

Veepee Teepee

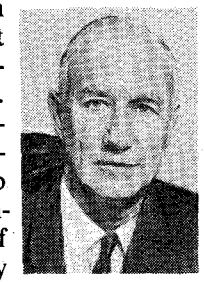
By REP. JAMES CLEVELAND (R.-N. H.)

When the law to build the Vice President a house was passed (against my opposition) we were assured by proponents that floods of gifts would come in—enough, perhaps so that no taxpayers' money would be needed. I checked to see how much has come in the last three months: exactly four dollars and a packet of Confederate bills from a donor in San Francisco. At this rate, we can build the house from donations in about 48,000 years.

Hanoi's 'Trials'

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

The threats to "try" Americans by Hanoi have obviously been used as a psychological weapon in an attempt to inhibit U. S. bombings of targets in North Viet Nam. There is a very real possibility that the Communists may actually go through with the conduct of "trials" of Americans which they hold prisoner, but the latest indications are that such "trials" are not an immediate prospect. While U. S. attention has been focused on the threat of "trials," whether they will actually be conducted, and whether resulting sentences will be executed, there are now appearing reports that at least one and perhaps other downed American flyers are being beheaded or otherwise executed by the North Vietnamese.



While the conduct of some type of "trial" might have more far-reaching political implications, the lives and welfare of captured Americans are of the most vital concern. Not only must steps be taken to prevent execution of captured Americans, preventive actions are in order by the United States to insure that treatment of captured Americans is in accord with international law requirements for prisoners which captured Americans are not now receiving. It may well be that a declaration of war will be necessary, and even that may not be enough. It may also be necessary to actually *wage war*, even to the extent of destruction of the Communist government of North Viet Nam.

Expendable Resources

By SEN. NORRIS COTTON (R.-N. H.)

Visitors are often amused by a sign stenciled at the crest of the 12-million-ton Hoover Dam, "U. S. Government property. Do not remove." Actually, however, in this nuclear age even this mighty dam is not immovable. Nor is the United States of America so powerful or so rich that it can forever sustain reckless, and often useless, draining of its resources.

WAIT'LL HE VOTES

Second Thoughts on Minimum Wage

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Although President Johnson's proposal for another increase in the minimum wage is halfway through Congress, some lawmakers are having second thoughts. They do not question the desirability of boosting the minimum wage—although there is ample reason to do so—but they wonder about the timetable contained in the version that passed the House in late May.

If the Senate should concur in the House version, the minimum wage, now $1.25 an hour, would move up to $1.40 on Feb. 1, 1967, and to $1.60 on Feb. 1, 1969. (The original bill before the House set Feb. 1, 1968, as the target date for the $1.60 rate, but the House voted a year's deferment before passing. Now there is a move afoot in the Senate to restore the earlier date.)

Rep. Thomas G. Morris (D.-N. Mex.) doesn't quarrel with the $1.60 rate, but he wonders about the economy's capacity to absorb what would amount to a 14.4 per cent wage increase in two years' time (or in one year's time, if the original target date should be restored), particularly in light of the Administration's insistence upon a 3.2 per cent guideline in arriving at wage increases. Rep. Morris' answer is a 36-month absorption period for the final increase from $1.40 to $1.60, rather than a 12-month period or even 24 months. The longer span, he argues, would be "more conducive to the continued health and stability of the overall national economy."

That even proponents of a higher minimum wage should be having second thoughts about its impact on the economy is a salutary thing. The impact that ought to be causing concern, however, is not related to the President's guidelines for wage increases, but the consequences for the thousands of young Americans—particularly young Negroes—at the bottom of the economy. For them, the choice is between jobs at $1.25 an hour or no jobs at $1.40 or $1.60.

The record shows that prior to 1949-50, when the minimum wage was raised from 40 cents to 75 cents, there was no appreciable difference in the unemployment rate for white teen-agers and Negro teen-agers. Seven years later, the minimum wage took another leap upward—from 75 cents to $1, and by 1957 the unemployment rate stood at 12 per cent for white teen-agers and 22 per cent for Negroes.

To see the social problems represented by unemployed Negroes in the nation's major cities is to wonder whether this is the moment to risk enlarging their ranks.

For, far from eliminating this mass of humanity at the foot of the economic ladder, the manipulations of the bureaucrats seem so far to be perpetuating it.

From the beginning of the present century, this group has numbered about 3.5 million. In 1960, they were 12 per cent of the work force; today they are only 5 per cent. But although their percentage diminishes, their absolute numbers have not. Repeated rises in the minimum wage would seem to assure that they do not in the future.

There is still time for some congressional second thoughts.

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Is There Any Good Reason to Scrap 'The Star-Spangled Banner'?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Saturday Review magazine set off a fine fluttering in its dovecotes a few weeks ago, with an article by Mrs. Renee B. Fisher proposing that "The Star-Spangled Banner" be scrapped as our national anthem. The lady's main complaint is that the song is unsingable by amateurs; and wholly apart from its musical defects, the lyrics are just too warlike.

These are propositions that demand a closer look.

The first count in the indictment will have to be confessed. Keyed in the usual two flats, "The Star-Spangled Banner" bounces from a low B-flat in the first measure to a couple of high F's in the home stretch. This is fine for Irish tenors and Methodist sopranos, but for the ordinary American whose growling bass runs from middle C up to the next E-flat, the rocket's red glare has a way of turning pale.

Yet the proper plea to the charge is a simple demurrer. So what if the "Banner" is unsingable? It matters not at all, for a national anthem is not meant to be heard in the ear, but in the pit of the stomach and the valves of the heart. The object of art, Holmes once remarked, is to pull the trigger on emotion. That is precisely the purpose of a good national anthem.

Some of the best anthems are equally unsingable. Not more than half a dozen Frenchmen can make it through the "*Marseillaise*" without collapsing on the bugle-call motif, but the cry of "*marchons!*" has the kick of a mule. Pakistan's anthem is keyed in five flats. Panama's changes keys en route. The Dominican Republic boasts a bloodthirsty ballad, full of bravura, but it's scaled for coloraturas. One of the best of all anthems belonged to the late Southern Confederacy; to this day, "Dixie" ignites the fighting eye, but its score is impossible. No Southerner can sing it sober, and few can sing it drunk.

As for the second count against "The Star-Spangled Banner," the ballad's warlike aspects must be counted as virtues and not as faults. Gerald W. Johnson, commenting critically on Mrs. Fisher's proposal, makes the point that the prime purpose of an anthem is its incitation to homicide; it is "essentially a battle-cry." If references to the perilous fight, the ramparts we watched, and the bombs bursting in air serve to revive the martial spirit, so much the better. We could use a little revival of the martial spirit in these parts.

Denmark's national anthem is a model in the field. It recalls King Kristian of yore, whose "sword was hammering so fast, through Gothic helm and brain it passed; then sank each hull and mast in mist and smoke." Mexico's anthem is one long rattle of swords. Costa Rico's is a pledge to "arise with fervor to take up our arms." Cuba's blood-tingling *"Bayamesa"* glorifies *"una muerte gloriosa."* Ireland relies upon "The Soldier's Song," a ballad as smooth and as potent as the grog that Ireland makes.

To be sure, the third stanza of our own national anthem gets into rhetoric rather more colorful than one likes to contemplate in a day of Anglo-American friendship: "And where is that band who so vauntingly swore, that the havoc of war and the battle's confusion a home and a country should leave us no more? Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps pollution! No refuge could save the hireling and slave from the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave." It may not be great poetry, but it certainly has pizzazz.

The objection also may be made that the "Banner's" final stanza doesn't exactly scan, and that the concluding reference to the national motto is probably unconstitutional under the high court's present view of the First Amendment. These are captious criticisms. A fresh committee of poets and composers, appointed under the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, might produce some peaceful banalities, scored for Rotarians and boxing fans, but the country is not likely to desert the homely simplicity of "conquer we must, when our cause it is just." That was the old-time religion. It is good enough today.

Yet it would be useful, while the subject is under discussion, if the Congress would put its stamp of approval on one official version of the "Banner." Strangely enough, this never has been done. An act of 1931 designated the "composition consisting of the words and music known as The Star-Spangled Banner" the national anthem of the United States, but dozens of variant versions exist of both music and lyrics. For the past ten years, Rep. Joel Broyhill (R.-Va.) has been promoting a resolution to write a definitive version of the anthem into law, but the House Judiciary Committee is tone deaf. The resolution languishes. If patriotic societies wanted to set off a few bombs and rockets behind the Broyhill measure, "The Star-Spangled Banner" might yet be saved from assault by the peace-loving friends of *Saturday Review*. Singable or not, long may it wave!

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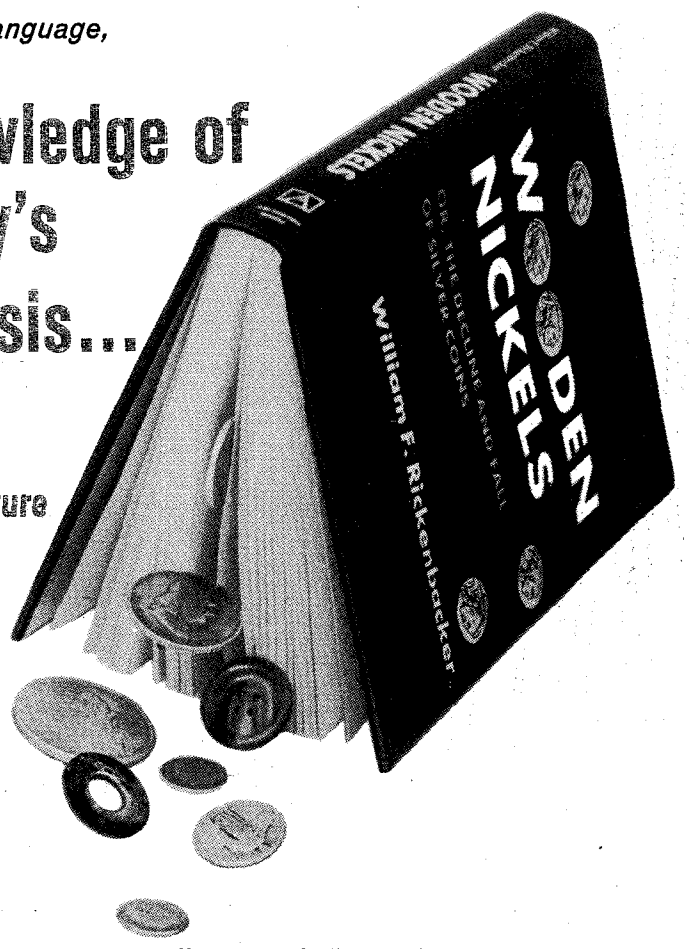

and how it will affect your money and your future

Look at the coins in your pocket or purse. Every one of your new dimes, quarters and halves looks like "a salami sandwich made with moldy bread". They don't feel right. They certainly don't ring true. The reason: they aren't true. *They aren't silver.*

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...Red China's "Great Leap Forward", financed at the cost of millions of lives and millions of ounces of silver.

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